

**ABSTRACT**

The object of this study is to describe and analyse the main trends in the political history of the Keira Sultanate of Dār Fūr until its incorporation into the Sudan in 1898. In the first two chapters, after a brief description of the geography and ethnography of

**THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF**  
**THE KEIRA SULTANATE OF DĀR FŪR**

the area and the various trade routes of the Keira Sultanate are discussed. Chapter three outlines the early relations between the Keira royal family and the Fūr tribe and the expansion of the sultanate under Sultans Sulaymān and Ahmad Bukr with the subsequent struggles for power within the ruling group. The position of the sultan's position vis-à-vis his chiefs is the main theme of chapter four and is illustrated in the expansion of the sultanate eastwards into Kordofan, the increasing reliance of the sultans on slaves as soldiers and officials and in the outcome of the succession crisis after the death of Sultan Muhammad Tayrāb.

**Thesis submitted for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**in the**

**University of London.**

With the consolidation of the sultan's power by the reforms of Sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān, chapter five describes the establishment of al-Fūshir as the capital and the sultanate's relations with the outside world. The last two chapters consider the development of court politics in al-Fūshir and the rise of a new class of officials and the decline of the power of the old chiefly class and the Keira family. The sultanate's increasing isolation following the

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### ABSTRACT.

Turco-Egyptian conquest of Kordofan in 1821 and the hostile relations with the Arab tribes of southern Dār Fūr are discussed.

The object of this study is to describe and analyse the main trends in the political history of the Keira Sultanate of Dār Fūr until its incorporation into the Turco-Egyptian Sudan in 1874. In the first two chapters, after a brief description of the geography and ethnography of the Dār Fūr region, the early history of the area and the various traditions of origin concerning the Keira Sultanate are discussed. Chapter three outlines the early relations between the Keira royal family and the Fur tribe and the expansion of the sultanate under Sultans Sulaymān and Ahmad Bukr with the subsequent struggles for power within the ruling group. The growing strength of the sultan's position vis-à-vis his chiefs is the main theme of chapter four and is illustrated in the expansion of the sultanate eastwards into Kordofan, the increasing reliance of the sultans on slaves as soldiers and officials and in the outcome of the succession crisis after the death of Sultan Muhammad Tayrāb.

With the consolidation of the sultan's power by the reforms of Sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān, chapter five describes the establishment of al-Fāshir as the capital and the sultanate's relations with the outside world. The last two chapters consider the development of court politics in al-Fāshir and the rise of a new class of officials and the decline of the power of the old chiefly class and the Keira family. The sultanate's increasing isolation following the



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## INTRODUCTION.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this study is to trace the growth and development of the Keira Sultanate of Dār Fūr until its destruction at the hands of al-Zubayr Rahma in 1874. The main emphasis in the study is on the political history of the state. Until the sites associated with the early sultans are excavated, little can be said on the origin and early history of the sultanate, but an outline reconstruction of the political and military growth of the state in the eighteenth century is possible. For the nineteenth century material is more abundant and major trends within the development of the state, such as the centralisation of power in the hands of the sultan and his court, the Islamisation of the institutions of the state and the increasing use of slaves in the administration, can, at least in part, be described.

The sources for this study may be divided into two main categories, oral and written, although the distinction is rather blurred. Although Arabic manuscripts from the period of the sultans are beginning to be discovered in Dār Fūr - so far just over a hundred have been located and photographed - they throw most light on the local history of the sultanate, its system of land tenure and on the role of the Muslim religious classes within the state. The most substantial group of written sources utilized in this study are the travellers of the nineteenth century, and of these the most important are W.G. Browne, Muhammad b. <sup>c</sup>Umar al-Tūnisi and Gustav Nachtigal. The travellers' contribution in the al-Fāshir and eastern Dār Fūr region on my second



is twofold; their personal observations and their records of the historical traditions of the sultanate current at the time of their visit.

After the establishment of Condominium rule in Dār Fūr in 1916, many British officials began to collect information on the history and ethnography of the province. Much was published in Sudan Notes and Records, but much remains in the Archives in Khartoum and al-Fāshir or in private hands. One notable collection - the papers of Dr. A.J. Arkell - have now been deposited in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Since many of the officials took notes from informants who had grown up in the days of the sultans, much of their material is irreplaceable, but their official preoccupations often limited the nature of their enquiries.

I was able to use these sources as a basis for further enquiries during two visits to Dār Fūr (April to July 1969 and April to July 1970). I must here gratefully acknowledge grants towards the costs of these visits from the Central Research Fund, University of London, and from the Research Committee, University of Khartoum. On my first visit, I travelled mainly in the Fur tribal area in Jabal Marra and western Dār Fūr, but found with the disappearance of the sultanate over fifty years ago, the Fur remembered little of their past. This impression was confirmed by a social anthropologist from the University of Bergen, Dr. Gunnar Håland, working in the same area. I had much greater success in the al-Fāshir and eastern Dār Fūr region on my second



visit, where I was able to photograph over seventy sultanic documents and to record individual family and clan histories. In al-Fāshir I learnt much from Sayyid Sabīl Ādam Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb and Sayyid <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān Ādam Sālīh, who were both actively engaged in collecting historical material on their respective tribes, the Birged and the Fur. at the same time as I was

This thesis is concerned with what one might term the central historical traditions of the Keira state, namely the doings of the sultans, their court and officials and as such is only a preliminary and partial assessment of the general progress of the history of the Keira Sultanate. It will not be possible to balance this perhaps misleading view of the sultanate's history until the historical traditions of all the component tribes of the sultanate are collected. Until this is done the history of the Keira state must remain largely the history of the Keira ruling family.

In the writing of this thesis, I, too, have acquired many debts of gratitude. I owe much to my former colleagues in the Department of History, University of Khartoum, particularly to Dr. <sup>c</sup>Uthmān Sīd Ahmad, who gave me leave of absence from my teaching to pursue my research in Dār Fūr, and to Dr. Yūsuf Fadl Hasan, of the Sudan Research Unit, for his continual encouragement. I was able to discuss many of the social anthropological and ethnographic problems of the Dār Fūr region with the members of the Department of



Anthropology at Khartoum, particularly with Farnham Rehfisch, Lewis Hill and Wendy James. In this respect also I was able to make use of the research in Dār Fūr of Professor Fredrik Barth, who kindly invited me to Bergen to discuss Dār Fūr, and of my friend, Dr. Gunnar Håland, who was working on the social anthropology of the Fur at the same time as I was attempting to write their history and who has kindly contributed an appendix to chapter one on one of the most obscure problems of early Keira history, namely the role of the named groups or "clans" among the Fur. I must also thank Professor and Madame Tubiana, who gave me much good advice, based on their experience of the Zaghāwa in Chad and Dār Fūr.

Apart from the many former British officials in Dār Fūr who gave advice or answered particular queries, I owe an especial debt to Dr. A.J. Arkell, who not only allowed me to read his papers on Dār Fūr, but also advised me on many points.

throughout the writing of Professor A.G.B. Fisher and his son, Dr. H.J. Fisher, very kindly allowed me to make use of their as yet unpublished translation of Gustav Nachtigal's travels.

My visits to Dār Fūr were both enjoyable and fruitful and were made so by the kindness and help of the officials there, in particular the Governor of Dār Fūr Province, Sayyid <sup>c</sup>Uthmān Muḥammad Ḥusayn, who gave me unrestricted access to the Archives of al-Fāshir Province Headquarters.



# ABBREVIATIONS.

I owe much to the people of Dār Fūr, whether as students at the University of Khartoum with whom I had so many profitable discussions, or as very hospitable hosts in a fascinating and beautiful, if remote, country, or in the case of those chiefs and holy men who still remembered the past, for their guidance into that past. I must particularly thank my servant Jum<sup>c</sup>a Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb of Ajangerei, who initiated me into the Fur language, the abbo daadinga Rihaymtallāh Muhammad Mahmūd who used his very considerable influence in the al-Fāshir region in helping me locate informants and documents, and my two student companions on my second trip, Ibrāhīm Mūsā Abbo and Muhammad Ahmad Bidayn.

I must thank Professor R.A. Oliver for introducing me to the fascination of African history and for encouraging me to begin this study, and most particularly, Professor P.M. Holt, for his patient guidance and supervision, first in London and then from afar when I was in Khartoum, throughout the writing of this thesis. And finally to my wife, who in the midst of domestic tragedy and difficulty, found the strength to encourage me to finish what I had begun.

As far as possible I have imitated the Fur script and have used the transliteration system of the Fur language, but with the omission of the "y" for the substitution of "j" for the Fur letter "y".



ABBREVIATIONS.

- It is impossible to transliterate in a scientific manner all the names and phrases that appear in this thesis. Over twenty languages and dialects are spoken in Dār Fūr, of which very few have been seriously studied or recorded at all. A further complication is that many terms used in the Keira Sultanate, some of which are widely used in the central Sudanic region, are of unknown linguistic origin.
- Arkell Papers ..... The papers of Dr. A.J. Arkell, now deposited at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- J.A.H. .... Journal of African History.
- Mailis ..... Archives of al-Fāshir Mailis or District Headquarters.
- Mudīriya ..... Archives of al-Fāshir Mudīriya or Province Headquarters.
- S.G.A. .... Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum.
- S.N.R. .... Sudan Notes and Records.
- U.K. Library ..... Sudan Collection, University of Khartoum library.

whenever n is followed by g the two letters represent the one sound, as in "sing".

As far as possible I have ignored the colloquial Arabic forms and have used the transliteration adopted by the Encyclopedia of Islam, but with the omission of the subscript ligatures and the substitution of "j" for

---

(1) A.G. Beaton, A Grammar of the Fūr Language, typescript Khartoum 1937; mimeograph Khartoum 1969.



### TRANSLITERATION.

It is impossible to transliterate in a scientific manner all the names and phrases that appear in this thesis. Over twenty languages and dialects are spoken in Dār Fūr, of which very few have been seriously studied or recorded at all. A further complication is that many terms used in the Keira Sultanate, some of which are widely used in the central Sudanic region, are of unknown linguistic origin.

For the Fur language, I have used a modified form of the phonetic system devised by A.C. Beaton in his grammar of the language. (I) The changes are;

#### Beaton

#### thesis

ε

e

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ng whenever n is followed  
by g the two letters  
represent the one sound,  
as in "sing".

ɔ

o

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oo

As far as possible I have ignored the colloquial Arabic forms and have used the transliteration adopted by the Encyclopedia of Islam, but with the omission of the subscript ligatures and the substitution of "j" for

---

(I) A.C. Beaton, A Grammar of the Fur Language, typescript Khartoum 1937; mimeograph Khartoum 1969.



Chapter I.

"dj", ج and "q" for "k", ق. But in certain words I have preferred to retain the Sudanese colloquial "ō" for instead of "ū".

In the spelling of place names it is again impossible to be consistent and I have sometimes written the conventional anglicised form or the arabicised form or the form, often very inaccurate, to appear on the 1:250,000 Sudan Ordnance maps.

For the spelling of place names, see K.W. Barbeam, *The Republic of the Sudan*, London 1957; J.H.G. Lebon and V.C. Robertson, "The Jebel Marra, Darfur and its region", *The Geographical Journal*, CXXVII/1, 1965, 30-49 and J.H.G. Lebon, *Land Use in the Sudan*, London 1965. On the human geography of the neighbouring region of central Kordofan, see M. Born, *Zentral-Kordofan*, Hamburg 1965.

On the population of Dar Fūr, see *First Population Census of the Sudan, 1955-6*, 3 vols., Khartoum 1960. The Census gives valuable tribal and language lists, which must however be used with caution e.g. "North Darfuri" and "South Darfuri" have no significance as language groups. The present administrative divisions of Darfur are as follows:

	<u>Centre</u>	<u>population</u>
Mr Masalit Rural Council	Gedina	323,616
Al-Fāshir Town and R.C.	al-Fāshir	123,176
Eastern Darfur R.C.	Um Keddāda	50,431
Northern Darfur R.C.	Kutum	236,706
Southern Darfur R.C.	Nyala	396,393
Western Darfur R.C.	Zalingei	204,443



chapter I.

DĀR FŪR: THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

The province of Dār Fūr (Arabic dār, "home", Fūr, the name of a people), today the westernmost province of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, covers an area of about 140,000 square miles but has a population of only some million and a half. (I) There is, however, some

(I) On the geography of Dār Fūr, see K.M. Barbour, The Republic of the Sudan, London 1957; J.H.G. Lebon and V.C. Robertson, "The Jebel Marra, Darfur and its region", The Geographical Journal, CXXVII/1, 1965, 30-49 and J.H.G. Lebon, Land Use in the Sudan, London 1965. On the human geography of the neighbouring region of central Kordofan, see M. Born, Zentral-kordofan, Marburg 1965.

On the population of Dār Fūr, see First Population Census of the Sudan, 1955-6, 3 vols., Khartoum 1960. The Census gives valuable tribal and language lists, which must however be used with caution e.g. "North Darfurian" and "South Darfurian" have no significance as language groups. The present administrative divisions of Darfur are as follows;

<u>name</u>	<u>centre</u>	<u>population.</u>
Dār Masalīt Rural Council	Geneina	323,616
Al-Fāshir Town and R.C.	al-Fāshir	123,176
Eastern Darfur R.C.	Umm Keddāda	50,431
Northern Darfur R.C.	Kutum	230,706
Southern Darfur R.C.	Nyala	396,393
Western Darfur R.C.	Zalingei	204,443



evidence that suggests that this may be a considerable underestimate or that the population of Dār Fūr was greater in the past. (2) The density of population varies from some twenty to thirty people to a square mile in the cultivated areas to less than two to a square mile in the semi-deserts of the north and east. It is geographically an area of extreme contrasts; from the deserts of the north, the volcanic mountain ranges of the centre to the wooded land in the south, which shades off gently into the Bahr al-Ghazāl. The geographical characteristics of the area have overwhelmingly determined the history of its peoples.

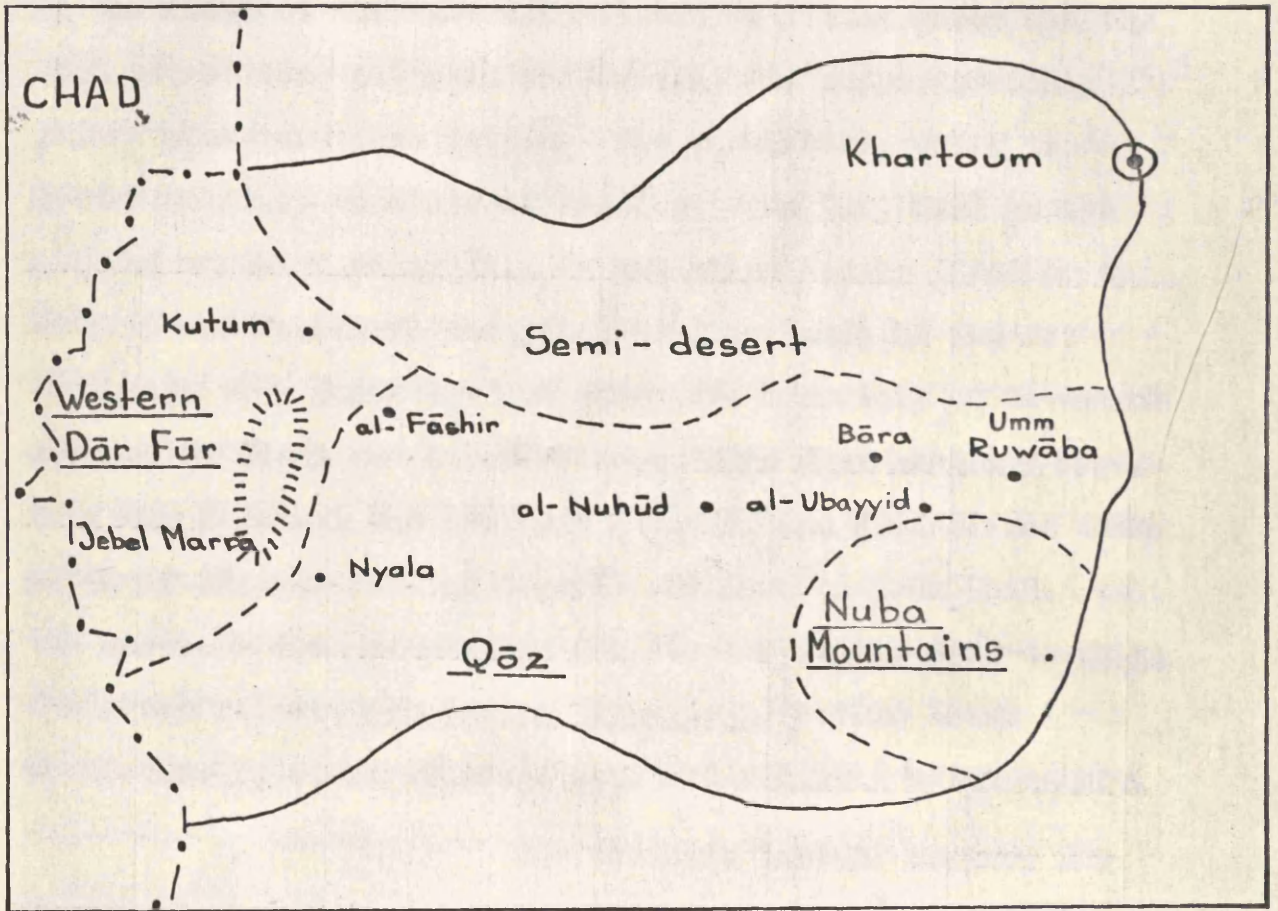
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(2) Although they are no more than guesses, the travellers of the last century, with the exception of Browne, consistently give a higher figure. W.G. Browne, Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, London 1799, 284, gives 200,000 as the population of the sultanate; Dr. Perron in an appendix to Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Tūnisī, Voyage au Darfour, Paris 1845, 393, gives 4-5 million. Nachtigal first gave the same figure in, "Dar For, die neue aegyptischen provinz", Petermanns Mittheilungen, 1875, 19-23, but later cut it down to 3½ million, Sahara und Sudan, 3 vols., I and II, Berlin 1879 and 1881, III, Leipzig 1889; reprinted Graz 1968, 111, 463. A.M. Mason, "Dar For", Petermanns Mittheilungen, 1880, 377-81, gives 2 million, while R.W. Felkin, "Notes on the For tribe of Central Africa", Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, XIII, 1884-5, 205-65, gives 3-5 million.



Dār Fūr/Kordofan Geographical Sub-regions.

(Adapted from Barbour, Republic, 149)





of the Fur people. (4) Barbour considers Dār Fūr and the neighbouring province to the east, Kordofan, to form a natural geographical unit (total area 340,000 square miles; only a little less than Nigeria, 373,000 square miles), which he divides into four sub-regions, western Dār Fūr, the Semi-Desert, the Qōz and the Nuba mountains. (3) Western Dār Fūr consists of a plain and a range of mountains, Jabal Marra. In the north of the sub-region there is little water and the land is not very suitable for camels, but supports mainly goats, sheep and some cattle. The population, which is mainly nomadic, consists of Zaghāwa, some Fur, Banī Husayn and the northern Rizayqāt. In the rainy season (October to January and February) the jizzū grazing lands of the far north are very important and there are a variety of movements centred on them; the Kabābīsh move there from northern Kordofan, the Zaghāwa, the northern Rizayqāt and Meidob from other parts of Dār Fūr and the Bideyāt and Gura<sup>c</sup>an from Chad. In the northern zone of western Dār Fūr the staple crop is dukhn (bullrush millet, pennisetum typhoideum) around Kutum particularly, since it has a good and reliable water supply.

The southern part of western Dār Fūr has a much better supply of water than the north, with a consequence that the population is mainly sedentary, particularly along the Wādī Azum, which is one of the main centres

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(3) M. Barbour, Republic, 151.

see G. Håland, "Economic", 1966, "Determinants in ethnic processes", in F. Barth ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, London 1969, 98-73.



of the Fur people. (4) The Fur of the Wādī Azum are good cultivators and are well-versed in a wide range of crafts, including spinning and weaving cotton, iron-working and pottery; these are essential given the relative commercial isolation of western Dār Fūr. The main crops grown by the Fur of the Wādī Azum are dukhn, dhurra (common millet, sorghum vulgare), the ground-nuts, maize, sesame and onions. These are sown in June/July and are harvested in November/December. Markets are held all the year round, but the volume of trade varies with the season. To these markets come the nomads to buy grain in exchange for milk and butter. (5)

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(4) "The Fur live exclusively in compact villages, varying from a bare fifty huts, which would indicate a population of 150-200 persons, to as many as 200 huts or more. There is evidence from the distribution of broken sherds and disused grindstones on many of the hills near the Azum that at some earlier date villages were sited in defensive positions, comparable with those occupied until very recently by the Nuba", Barbour, Republic, 152. See also, M. Barbour, "The Wadi Azum", The Geographical Journal, CXX, 1954, 172-82.

(5) On the economy of the Fur, but based on research among the Fur of Jabal Marra, see F. Barth, "Economic spheres in Darfur" in R. Firth (ed.), Themes in Economic Anthropology, London 1967, 149-74. On the relations between nomad and settled people in this region, see G. Håland, "Economic determinants in ethnic processes", in F. Barth ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, London 1969, 58-73.

this trade, which is in A Handbook for Western Darfur District, Madison files; see A.C. Beaton, "The Fur", S.N.R., XXIX/1, 1948, 22-7.



The population of Jabal Marra. The natural centre of Dār Fūr is the Jabal Marra mountain range, which rises in places as high as 3,000 metres. Jabal Marra acts as a barrier to communication between eastern and western Dār Fūr and is perhaps a cause of the fact that western Dār Fūr's links have traditionally been towards the west and north-west rather than east towards the Nile valley. The one major pass through the mountain massif, the Kawra pass, near the western end of which lies the town of Kabkābiya, was and is of great strategic importance. (6) The slopes of Jabal Marra are covered, sometimes up to a height of 2,500 metres, by a complex system of stone terraces, which give the perhaps misleading impression that Jabal Marra supported a larger population in the past than it does today. (7) From the crater lakes at the south end of the range, an important trade in salt was carried on in the days of the sultanate, which has only local value today. (8)

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(6) "It is two days walk from Kabkābiya to Kawra. In the mountains of Kawra there are ruins of towns that overlooked the pass; Kabkābiya and Shōba, the palace of sultan Muhammad Tayrāb, are situated strategically in relation to the pass because they also have good water and land"; personal communication, G. Håland.

(7) On the terraces see G.A. Hale, "Terrasegerbourg", Kultur-geograph, XVI, 87, 17-23, and The Terraces of Jabal Marra, unpublished Ph. D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1966.

(8) See Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 464 and Felkin, 214. Boustead and Beaton collected considerable information on this trade, which is in A Handbook for Western Darfur District, Mudīriya files; see A.C. Beaton, "The Fur", S.N.R., XXIX/1, 1948, 26-7.



The population of Jabal Marra is almost exclusively Fur, who are known to the Fur of the plains as fuugokwa or iabbala ("mountain people", iabal, Arabic, funjo, Fur, "mountain") and who speak a somewhat different dialect of the common language. (9) The Fur appear to regard Jabal Marra as their original homeland.

To the east of Jabal Marra on the borders between western Dār Fūr and the Qōz sub-region lies the only considerable town in Dār Fūr, al-Fāshir (population about 30,000, but it is now being rapidly overtaken by Nyala), which since the end of the eighteenth century has been the capital first of the Keira sultanate and now of the province. (10)

The sub-region of the Qōz stretches from al-Fāshir to the White Nile and includes the other major town of the region, al-Ubayyid, (El Obeid) both chosen for the convenience of their sites. Like western Dār Fūr, the Qōz sub-region has nomads in the north and south and cultivators in the centre. The latter are mainly in the triangle, bounded

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(9) On the dialects of Fur, see B. Jernudd, "Linguistic integration and national development: a case study of the Jebel Marra area, Sudan," in J.A. Fishman ed., Language Problems of Developing Nations, New York 1968. Barth has written an ethnographic description of the Jabal Marra Fur, The Fur of Jabal Marra, mimeograph Khartoum 1966.

(10) Barbour, Republic, 155.



## The People.

by Umm Ruwāba, al-Ubayyid and al-Nuhūd. The sedentary peoples of the central Qōz region include the Arabic-speaking groups of the Jawāmi<sup>c</sup>a, Dār Hāmid, Bidayriya and Hāmar. It is also notable for the extensive use made of the tabaldī tree (the baobab, adansonia digitata) for the storage of water; the trees form an important part of the tribal wealth. (11)

The southern part of the Qōz is the home of the Baqqāra cattle nomads, who in fact occupy the belt of land that stretches from Kordofan westwards to Wadai and Baqirmi in the modern Republic of Chad. In the north the Qōz merges into the third sub-region, the Semi-Desert, which is the home of a variety of nomad groups, the Kabābīsh, Kawāhla, and in Dār Fūr, the Zayādīya, the only major Arab camel-keeping tribe now in Dār Fūr. There is in the north of this sub-region, in Dār Fūr, the important mountain enclave of Jabal Meidob, like Jabal Marra a volcanic range and occupied by the semi-nomadic Meidob people. In the south-eastern corner of the sub-region (but in Kordofan province) there is another mountain region, the Nuba mountains; Barbour's fourth sub-region.

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(11) Barbour, Republic, 157-8.



## The People.

The classification and history of the many tribes and groups that make up the present day population of Dār Fūr is a complex problem. Nachtigal, <sup>Call</sup> MacMichael and Theobald have all attempted an ethnographic survey of Dār Fūr in varying degrees of detail. (12) Because of the lack of serious ethnological research in the Dār Fūr region, the next few pages can offer only general comments and a functional guide to the main groups in Dār Fūr. This is, however, necessary in that in its heyday the Keira sultanate embraced among its subject peoples a great variety of different tribal groups, Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim, nomads and cultivators.

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(12) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 443-67; A.B. Theobald, Ali Dinar, London 1965, 5-14 and MacMichael, History, i, 52-115 whose conclusion is that, "Thus one might describe the general ethnological aspect of Darfur as distinctively Tibbu in the north and negro in the south. In addition, however, to the Tibbu and the negro element and to the numerous Arab tribes which will be dealt with in a later chapter, there are scattered over the country various debased tribes, which though blended with the negro from the south or the Tibbu from the north are at the same time connected on the one side with the ancient peoples of the Nile valley or, on the other, with the old kingdoms lying west of Lake Chad". A criticism of this is that negro is a physical category and Tibbu a cultural or linguistic one. also includes some sedentary



Arabs like the Bani Fadl. From Barbour's analysis it can be seen that Dār Fūr, going from north to south, can be divided into three geographical zones, corresponding to the rainfall/vegetation boundaries. These zones also correspond to the different ways of life; in the dry semi-desert north are the camel nomads (Arabic, jammāla) in the central, comparatively well-watered and mountainous zone - Barbour's western Dār Fūr - are the sedentary hoe cultivators and in the wetter southern part of the Qōz, the cattle nomads (Arabic, baggāra). This division is in fact basic to the central and eastern Sudanic regions and in the east is only modified but not fundamentally changed by the Nile.

Two obvious facts emerge; the states of this wider region, the Sinnār sultanate, Dār Fūr, Wadai and Kanem/Bornu, encompassed all three zones yet appear to have originated in the central sedentary zone, often from mountain regions e.g. Jabal Marra. Secondly, although previous writers have tended to concentrate on deciding whether a particular tribe was Arab in origin, the Arab/non-Arab distinction cuts across these zones, although the Arabs tend to dominate numerically in the northern and southern zones, outside the state forming areas. Thus in the northern zone in Dār Fūr there are Arab camel nomads, Zayādīya, the northern Rizayqāt and other smaller groups, and non-Arab camel nomads, Gura<sup>c</sup>an, Bideyāt, Zaghāwa and Berti. The central zone is dominated by sedentary non-Arab tribes such as Masalīt, Fur, Daju and Birged, although it also includes some sedentary



Arabs like the Banī Fadl. What is interesting in the central zone is that Jabal Marra appears to mark the western boundary of the process of arabisation and arabicisation within the Fur zone; thus the Birged and the Berti, many of whom live in the central zone, are now almost completely arabicised with only a few isolated pockets of native speakers left, while Fur and the other languages of western Dār Fūr, spoken west of Jabal Marra, seem in no way affected. (13) The southern zone is dominated by the Baqqāra although throughout the zone are to be found Fulani (known in Dār Fūr as Fellāta) cattle nomads, to

What is significant about these tribal/occupational frontiers is the ease with which they can be crossed and yet the frontiers preserved. Håland, in a recent article, has demonstrated that the Fur/Baqqāra, mainly Banī Halba, frontier along the Wādī Azum in western Dār Fūr is stable, although there is considerable movement of Fur across the frontier for economic reasons. There Fur, on crossing the tribal/occupational frontier, leave their own way of life and eventually language to adopt that of the Baqqāra as being appropriate to cattle nomadism. (14)

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(13) Birged is down to its last twenty speakers; see R.S. O'Fahey, "On Nubian problems; a brief note on the Birged language", Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, XI, 1969, 63-4.

(14) Håland, "Economic determinants", 58-73.

(17) The label, Baqqāra, includes a great many groups e.g. Fulani and Haṣṣīt, whose ethnic origins are certainly not Arab.



A similar process appears to take place on the Fur/Zaghawa frontier in northern Dār Fūr i.e. on a sedentary/camel nomad frontier. On the northern frontier the pressures on the Fur to conform to the values of Zaghāwa life are even greater than in the south, such migrants being known to the Zaghāwa as kōra berī (Zaghāwa, Fur-Zaghāwa) and to the Fur as fora merita (Fur, Fur-Zaghāwa). (15)

These facts would tend to suggest that tribal labels have been accorded too much ethnic significance in the past and are in fact dangerous things to give a permanent value to, since among all the tribal groups, as is evident from the lists of khashm al-buyūt (Arabic, khashm al-bayt; plural, khashm al-buyūt, which can be loosely translated as clan), in this area there is an extensive interchange of people. This movement can thus give rise to kinship groups that are categorised by the same label as their founder's tribal group, but for whom the label has no other significance. (16) Conversely, for example, cattle nomadism appears to be the best way of utilizing the land of the southern zone, whatever the precise tribal origin of the cattle nomads in question. (17)

(15) Håland, personal communication, and forthcoming article in Festschrift to E.E. Evans-Pritchard.

(16) This confusion as to tribal labels is illustrated in Hasan Imam Hasan and R.S. O'Fahey, "Notes on the Milerī of Jabal Mūn", S.N.R., LI, 1970, 152-61.

(17) The label, Baqqāra, includes a great many groups e.g. Fulani and Masālīt, whose ethnic origins are certainly not Arab.



Sedentary non-Arabic speaking tribes. (18)

The classification of the languages spoken in Dār Fūr

according to Greenberg, Languages of Africa.

Groups. Sub-groups. Language.

Afro-Asiatic Semitic Arabic

Masālit. Chad Hausa

Dār Masālit today is the western-

Niger-Kordofanian Fūr, West Atlantic (Niger/ Fulani Chad for

about a 140 miles. Its Congo)

Asunga and the Wādī Kaja, its eastern, by the Wādī Bared and

Nilo-Saharan, which Saharan order between Zaghawa It and

the lowland Fūr. The Masālit language is part of the Maba

group, which is found in Maba and which Masalit includes

Mararit and Karanga and Fur suggests that the Masālit may

be an intrusive group from Eastern Sudanic (19). Masālit are

today Muslim although (Chari/Nile) is belief Mararite among

them. (20) In the time of the Keira sultanate Sungor Masālit

Daju group

(19) In classifying the tribes of Dār Fūr, Nubian group

MacMichael, ALL EGYPT, 5 Central Sudanic Bongo-Baqirmi

(19) See A.H. Tucker and M.A. Bryan, The Non-group. Languages

of North Eastern Africa, London 1956, 5-5 and Linguistic

Analysis, London 1966, 193-205. On the wider classification

of Masālit, see J.H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa,

The Hague 1966, 130.

(20) MacMichael, Sahara and Sudan, iii, 349; R.C. Slatin,

Fire and Sword in the Sudan, London 1896, 111 and MacMichael,

History, 1, 87.



Sedentary non-Arabic speaking tribes. (18)

Along the present Chad/Sudan border which itself follows very roughly the old border between the sultanates of Wadai and Dār Fūr, are to be found a series of sedentary or semi-nomadic non-Arabic speaking groups, about whom very little is known.

Masālīt. also a small group of Masālīt Baggara in Dār Habbāniya in southern Dār Fūr. (22)

Dār Masālīt today is the westernmost part of Dār Fūr, running along the border with Chad for about a 140 miles. Its western border is bounded by the Wādī Asunga and the Wādī Kaja, its eastern, by the Wādī Barei and the Wādī Azum, which mark the border between the Masālīt and the lowland Fur. The Masālīt language is part of the Maba group, which is found mainly in Wadai and which also includes Mararit and Karanga and which suggests that the Masālīt may be an intrusive group from the west. (19) The Masālīt are today Muslim although many pre-Islamic beliefs survive among them. (20) In the time of the Keira sultanate, the Masālīt

(18) In classifying the tribes of Dār Fūr, I have followed Theobald, ʿAlī Dīnār, 5-16. Michael, History, 1, 85-8, giving

(19) See A.N. Tucker and M.A. Bryan, The Non-Bantu Languages of North Eastern Africa, London 1956, 54-5 and Linguistic Analyses, London 1966, 193-205. On the wider classification of Masālīt, see J.H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, The Hague 1966, 130. 75-88 and A. Le Roux, Saharans of

(20) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 349; R.C. Slatin, Fire and Sword in the Sudan, London 1896, 111 and MacMichael, History, 1, 87.



were divided up among the three Fur shartaiships of Madi, Fia and Kerne, although they had their own subordinate chiefs. (21) It was not until the chaos of the Mahdiyya in Dār Fūr, in the 1890s, that the Masālīt began to assert their independence, under the leadership of the fakī Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Nabī. There is today also a small group of Masālīt Baqqāra in Dār Habbāniya in southern Dār Fūr. (22)

Tāma.

To the north and north-west of Dār Masālīt there is an area of considerable tribal confusion, which can be roughly divided into Dār Tāma in the west and Dār Qimr in the east. Unlike Dār Masālīt, which was always recognised as being part of the Keira sultanate, Dār Tāma, probably because of its more westerly position, was a constant source of dispute between Wadai and Dār Fūr and was more often in the hands of the former than the latter. (23)

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(21) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 315 and 419; S.G.A intel., 1/19/98 s.307 H.A. MacMichael, Report on Dar Masalit 1918.

(22) On the Masālīt, see MacMichael, History, i, 85-8, giving a list of Masālīt groups; R. Davies, The Camel's Back, London 1957, 144-72 and S.N.R., VII, 1924, 49-62 and H.G. Balfour Paul, Blackwood's Magazine, CCLXXXI, 1957, 405-20. On the Maba and Masālīt in Chad, see A.M.D. Lebeuf, Les Populations du Tchad, Paris 1959, 75-88 and A. Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens du Tchad, Paris 1962, 125-9 and 200-3.

(23) see below, 238-40.



Like the Masālīt, the Tāma are today Muslim but still retain many pre-Islamic customs and beliefs. Together with the Erenga in southern Dār Tāma (or Dār Erenga) and the Milēri of Jabal Mūn, in northern Dār Tāma, the Tāma form a distinct language group of their own. (24)

The Tāma, or perhaps more accurately their ruling clan, claim to be related to the Daju of Dār Sīla, in south eastern Wadai. Today the Tāma are well-known all over Dār Fūr as skilled potters. (25)

problem, since it appears to be isolated from Qimr. Other languages of Dār Fūr and indeed is isolated within the general classification. Dār Qimr lies to the east of Dār Tāma and if the latter was more or less in the Wadai sphere of influence, the former was in that of Dār Fūr. The Qimr ruling clan, the Miggi, claim to be of Ja<sup>c</sup>aliyīn origin, who migrated to their present home from al-Matamma on the Nile. Today the Qimr of both Chad and Dār Fūr speak Arabic, but originally appear to have spoken a dialect of the Tāma language group. In fact the Abū Jōkha Qimr are still said to

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(24) Tucker and Bryan, Non-Bantu Languages, 56-7 and Linguistic Analyses, 206-18. For Greenberg, Languages, 85, Tāma is a branch of his Eastern Sudanic sub-group of his Macro-Sudanic group. 155-6.

(25) On the Tāma, see MacMichael, History, 1, 85; Hasan and O'Fahey, S.N.R., LI, 1970, 152-61; Arkell, S.N.R., XXII, 1939, 79-89; <sup>c</sup>Alī <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh Abū Sinn, Mudhakira Abī Sinn <sup>c</sup>an Mudīrīva Dār Fūr, Khartoum 1968, 85 and in Chad, Lebeuf, Les Populations, 77-8 and Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens, 152-62. Khartoum 1968. I owe the suggestion of a

Dar/Masālīt relationship to Dr. R.C. Stevenson.



speaking Tāma. After their initial conquest, they played very little part in the affairs of the Keira sultanate but were heavily raided for slaves from both Wadai and Dār Fūr. (26)

Fur.

The Fur today number some 300,000 and live both on the slopes of Jabal Marra, which they regard as their original homeland, and to the west and south west of the mountain range. Their language, which is tonal, presents something of a problem, since it appears to be isolated from the other languages of Dār Fūr and indeed is isolated within the general classification of African languages proposed by Greenberg. Greenberg has suggested that there is a distant relationship between Fur, the central Saharan group, which includes Kanuri, Kanembu, Teda, Daza, Zaghāwa and Bertī, and the Maban group, including Maba, Masālīt and Karanga. If Fur is, as has been suggested, distantly related to Masālīt, it could perhaps imply that the Fur were much earlier migrants from the west. (27)

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(26) On the history of the Qimr, see below, 112-3. See also MacMichael, History, 1, 34-5; Tucker and Bryan, Non-Bantu Languages, 57; Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 70-1 and Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens, 155-6.

(27) Greenberg's suggestion can be found in G.P. Murdock, Africa. Its Peoples and their Culture History, New York 1959, 14; see also, J. H. Greenberg, "The position of the languages of the Sudan with regard to the Greenberg classification of African languages", paper presented to the conference, "The Sudan in Africa", Khartoum 1968. I owe the suggestion of a Fur/Masālīt relationship to Dr. R.C. Stevenson.



Details of which were collected. The Fur live in villages, which vary considerably in size, and are basically sedentary hoe and cultivators growing dukhn, dhurra and other crops although they will if possible keep some animals. Marisa (a beer made from dukhn or dhurra; Fur, kira), as a medium of exchange for labour, plays an important part in their internal economy. They are considered to be skilful and industrious cultivators. (28)

Several aspects of Fur social structure raise considerable problems in Keira history which cannot yet be solved. Thus there is some suggestion that the Fur originally had a sort of age-grade system that could be mobilised for war. These were the Jurenga, the young men who had been circumcised but not yet married. Every Fur locality had an ornang or war leader appointed by the elders, who in time of war led the Jurenga. In the Fur heartlands the system has disappeared but it lingers on in border areas of potential tribal conflict e.g. the Fur/Masalit border along the Wādī Azum. (29)

Another considerable problem is the significance of the territorial divisions and clan names, the Abba Konrussa, Abba Kunjara and others. (33)

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(28) Barth, "Economic spheres", 149-74 on marisa: see also R.T. Paterson, "Darfur agriculture" in J.D. Tothill ed., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948, 851-74.

(29) A.C. Beaton, S.N.R., XXIV, 1941, 181-8 and Håland, personal communication.

(33) On these titles, see glossary.



details of which were collected by some of the nineteenth century travellers. Today they are but dimly remembered and appear to have no practical significance. Al-Tūnisī recorded that the Fur were divided into three main territorial divisions, the famūrka, who lived west of Jabal Marra, the kunīāra and the karākrit, who lived in and to the east of the mountains. (30) Nachtigal, sixty years later, mentioned fifteen such named groups and said that he collected the names of about forty in all. (31) MacMichael considered them to be local and totemistic, but Arkell maintains they are functional, being groups of people who had specific functions within the sultanate, such as the sambalanga, "the people of the throwing knife" (Fur, sambal, "throwing knife") or followers of particular title-holding officials, such as the baasinga, "the people of the baasi". (32) But these categories need not be mutually exclusive.

Such named groups had a function under the sultanate and probably a very important one. But the evidence is too scanty even to speculate. Related to this problem is the existence of a group of titles, abbo dugunga, abbo konyunga, abbo kunjara and others. (33)

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(30) al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 143-4, Darfour, 134.

(31) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 450.

(32) MacMichael, History, i, 194 and Arkell, S.N.R., XXII/1, 1951, 61.

(33) On these titles, see glossary.



### Boja and Beja.

These appear to belong to the oldest layer of titles in the sultanate and one may speculate that the sultan or aba kuuri (Fur, "father of obeisance") was originally one such. But it is impossible to be certain whether these titles arose from the heads of the named groups, duzunga, konyunga and kuniera, or whether the groups arose from the titles. (34)

The Fur today are Muslim, although they still have many pre-Islamic customs. They practise a system of bilateral descent and there is no evidence to suggest they were ever matrilineal. (35)

(36) The Beja, who live to the south of the

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(34) See appendix to this chapter, 45-7.

(35) See MacMichael, History, 1, 92; Barth and Håland, personal communication. There is a considerable descriptive literature on the Fur; Boustead and Beaton compiled systematic notes on the Fur of the Zalingei district for A Handbook of Western Darfur District, mudiriya, which appears never to have been printed; see also A.C. Beaton and R.C. Cooke, S.N.R., XXII/2, 1939, 186-203; Beaton, S.N.R., XXIII, 1940, 305-29, S.N.R., XXIV, 1941, 181-8 and S.N.R., XXIX, 1948, 1-39. See also MacMichael, History, 1, 91-115 and 122-8. Of the nineteenth century travellers, although al-Tūnisī, - Tashhīh Darfour, gives much information about the people of Dār Fūr it is not always clear to which group he is referring. See also Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 450 - 1 and R.W. Felkin, "Notes on the Fur tribe", Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, XIII, 1884-5, 205-65.



### Daju and Beigo.

The Daju are, as it were, one of the three historic peoples of Dār Fūr and their historical rôle will be considered in the next chapter. Today peoples speaking languages of the Daju group are to be found spread from Lake Chad in the west to Kordofan in the east and south in the Bahr al-Ghazāl; there are eight main groups going from west to east, Mongo (Chad), Dār Sīla (Chad), the only surviving Daju state of any size, Daju hills (north east of Nyala, Dār Fūr), Beigo (southern Dār Fūr), west Kordofan, Shatt (Kordofan), Liguri (Kordofan) and Ngulgule (Bahr al-Ghazāl). (36) The Beigo, who live to the south of the Daju, are said to have come from the Bahr al-Ghazāl. (37) of a connexion with the Ja'allyin of the Nile valley. (38)

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- (36) On the Daju language group, Tucker and Bryan, Non-Bantu Languages, 59-61 and Linguistic Analyses, 231-42. The main references on the Daju are MacMichael, History, 1, 71-6; E.H. MacIntosh, S.N.R., XIV/2, 1931, 171-5; S. Hillelson, S.N.R., VIII, 1925, 59-71; K.D.D. Henderson, S.N.R., XV/1, 1932, 151-2; Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 15-7; Lebeuf, Les Populations, 116-7 and Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens, 120-30 and 199-209. There is an important study of the Daju of Chad in the Ft. Lamy Archives, Berre, Essai sur les Dadio, which the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, hope to publish; personal communication, Professor J. Tubiana.
- (37) On the Beigo, see MacMichael, History, 1, 80-2 and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 44.



Tunjur.

The Tunjur are the second historic tribe of Dār Fūr and like the Daju their historical position will be considered in the next chapter. Today there are comparatively few Tunjur in Dār Fūr, since it would appear that after their supersession by the Keira, most of them moved across to Chad and northern Nigeria, where they are today. The Tunjur of Dār Fūr are to be found either in the gōz region south of al-Fāshir or around Kutum, where they have intermarried with the Zaghāwa. They both cultivate and keep cattle and camels. Except for the so-called Tunjur/Fur of Jabal Furnung who speak Fur, the Tunjur speak Arabic. They claim descent from the Banī ʿAbbās, which may be a hint of a connexion with the Jaʿaliyīn of the Nile valley. (38)

Nomadic or Semi-Nomadic non-Arabic speaking Tribes. (39)

There is some evidence that there has been, over the last five or six hundred years at least, a steady infiltration of nomads, speaking languages of the Tubu group, from the Tibesti region of northern Chad into

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(38) The main references to the Tunjur are; MacMichael, History, 1, 66-71 and 122-3; Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 18-20; Lebeuf, Les Populations, 35-7 and Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens, 104-7. See also below, 77-8.

(39) This heading is not strictly accurate in that the Birged and Berti are today virtually entirely Arabic speaking.



northern Dār Fūr and Kordofan. In Dār Fūr, this infiltration may have occurred in two waves, the earlier now represented by the Berti and the later by the Zaghāwa, Bideyāt and Gura<sup>c</sup>an. (40)

### Bideyāt.

There are today few Bideyāt in Dār Fūr and those are mainly to be found north of Kutum and Kabkābiya. In the nineteenth century there are records of them raiding as far as east as the Nile valley. It is interesting to note that less than a hundred years ago they were still more or less pagan. (41)

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(40) This seems to be the main historical conclusion to be drawn from the work of J. and M.J. Tubiana on the Zaghāwa of Chad and the Sudan; personal communication and see bibliography.

(41) See MacMichael, History, 1, 52-4; Slatin, Fire and Sword, 114 and capt. Chalmel, "Notice sur les Bideyat", Bulletin de Société des Recherches Congolaises, XV, 1931, 33-91. There are some interesting references to the Bideyāt and their pre-Islamic beliefs in Le Moniteur Egyptien for 7, July 1875, 6, August 1875, 26 August 1875, 12 September 1875 and 21 October 1875; they deal with the journeys to Dār Zaghāwa of Colonel H.G. Prout, Mahmūd Sabrī and Ahmad Hamdī. I am grateful to Sir Duncan Cumming for these references. See also Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 74-5.

Paul, "A prehistoric cult still practiced in Darfur", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXCVI, 1956, 77-86.



Gura<sup>C</sup>an.

The Gura<sup>C</sup>an live even further north in Dār Fūr than the Bideyāt although a few of them are to be found among the Zaghāwa, to whom they are related. They are probably the only true desert nomads to be found in Dār Fūr. (42)

Zaghāwa.

More important in the history of the Keira state than either the Bideyāt or Gura<sup>C</sup>an, although related to them, are the Zaghāwa. The Zaghāwa live north and west of Kutum and Kabkābiya, although some groups are to be found further south. They keep camels and cattle and grow

dukhān. Two important Zaghāwa groups are the Kaitinga, just north of Kutum, who may be partly of Fur origin and the Zaghāwa Kobe, who formed the most important sultanate among the Zaghāwa under the Keira, with whom they intermarried. (43)

Meidob.

To the east of the Zaghāwa are the Meidob, who today inhabit the range of volcanic mountains known as Jabal Meidob. Both the Meidob and the Birged, who live much further south, appear to be, at least partly, of

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(42) See MacMichael, History, 1, 54-8; and M. Bouiliez, "Notes sur les populations goranes", L'Anthropologie, XXIV, 1913, 399-418.

(43) The main references are MacMichael, History, 1, 54-8; J. Chapelle, Nomads Noirs du Sahara, Paris 1957; M.J. Tubiana, Survivances préislamiques en Pays Zaghawa, Paris 1965 (see also bibliography); Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 73-4 and H.G. Balfour Paul, "A prehistoric cult still practised in Darfur", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXXXVI, 1956, 77-86.



Nubian origin; the Meidob language is undoubtedly related to the Dunqulāwī dialect of Nubian. Meidob traditions speak of them migrating from Dunqula on the Nile, possibly in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, until they reached Jabal Meidob. The Meidob are divided into three groups, Urti, Torti and Shelkota, each of whom have provided a dynasty for Jabal Meidob, which suggests a long period of occupation. Chiefly descent follows the matrilineal system. They are semi-nomadic, herding mainly sheep and goats. There is a small group of Meidob in the Tagabo hills, living among the Berti. (44)

#### Berti.

There are today two distinct groups of Berti, one at what appears to be their original home, the Tagabo hills, and another group who moved in recent times to just south of Umm Keddāda. They are today more sedentarised than the Meidob. (45)

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(44) See Tucker and Bryan, Non-Bantu Languages, 77, and Linguistic Analyses, 313-28; MacMichael, History, 1, 58-64; A.J. Arkell, S.N.R. XXVIII, 1947, 127-34; G.D. Lampen, S.N.R., XI, 1928, 55-62; M. Langley, "Pastoral Meidobia", The Geographical Magazine, 1948, 155-60 and Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 77-9.

(45) Dr. L. Holy has worked, as a social anthropologist, among the Berti; see bibliography. Holy also collected linguistic material on the Berti language, which has been published by Professor K. Petrůček, see bibliography.



Birged.

Like the Meidob, the Birged used to speak a language which appears to have belonged to the Nubian group. The Birged live to the north of the Daju and Beigo and appear to be a people of very mixed origin. Their language has almost but not quite died out. (46)

Misallit 134,377

Tama 27,131

Gur Jara 35,192

Fur 303,173

Daju 47,713

Beigo and Bialiya 1,617

Tunjur 57,402

Nomadic or semi-Nomadic non-Arabic speaking tribes.

Bideyāt 3,361

Gura<sup>c</sup>an 7,955

Zaghawa 96,211

Meidob 20,702

Berti 69,939

Birged 38,591

Arab camel-herding tribes.

Qazāl 11,235

(46) See MacMichael, History, 1, 77-80; Lebeuf, Les

Populations, 116-7; Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens, 201-3;

Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 75-6; Tucker and Bryan, Non-Bantu

Languages, 77-8 and Linguistic Analyses, 313-28; see above 25.

Habbaniya 75,779

Rizayāt 87,490

Ta<sup>c</sup>āsha 31,179



Population figures for tribes in Dār Fūr.

In the following table I have given the population figures of the tribes discussed in chapter I from Sudan Census 1956, vol. III, table 6.8, which see for further details.

Sedentary non-Arabic speaking tribes.

Masalit 134,379 who lived in northern Tāma Fūr and Kordofan and of 27,181 the most noted tribe was the Qimr Jarrār. (47) Yūsuf 35,182 has suggested that the Fur Fasāra simply fell in 303,173, but the tribes listed as Dajura in the sources, such as 47,215 Banī Jarrār, Majanīn, Banī Beigo and Misīriya Zurq, no 1,617 exist in Dār Fūr in any Tunjura and appear to have 57,402 to Kordofan and further east

Nomadic or semi-Nomadic non-Arabic speaking tribes.

Bideyāt	8,361
Gura <sup>c</sup> an	7,955
Zaghāwa	96,211
Meidob	20,732
Berti	69,939

Birged 38,591; W.C. Browne, *Travels in Arabia, Egypt and Syria*, London 1799, 285; J.L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1815, 131; Al-Tūnisī, *Tashīl*, 139

Zayadiya 13,287

Northern Rizayqāt 19,752

Arab cattle-owning tribes.

Banī Halba	63,016
Banī Husayn	27,448
Habbāniya	75,994
Rizayqāt	87,690
Ta <sup>c</sup> āisha	31,170



### Arab Camel-owning tribes.

in northern Dār Fūr before. Although in northern Dār Fūr today the Arab camel nomads are a relatively small group, it seems probable that they were present in much greater numbers from at least the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Nineteenth century sources and oral tradition refer to an Arab camel nomad federation called Fazāra who lived in northern Dār Fūr and Kordofan and of whom the most noted tribe was the Banī Jarrār. (47) Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan has suggested that the name Fazāra simply fell into disuse, but the tribes listed as Fazāra in the sources, such as the Banī Jarrār, Majanīn, Banī Amrān and Misīriya Zurq, no longer exist in Dār Fūr in any numbers and appear to have moved to Kordofan and further east sometime in the nineteenth century. (48)

### Zayādiya.

Today the Zayādiya are the only considerable Arab camel-owning tribe in Dār Fūr, who once formed part of the Fazāra group or confederation. They live

(47) Some of the main references; W.G. Browne, Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, London 1799, 285; J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, London 1819, 481; Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 139 and note, Darfour, 129, where "Farārah" is a misprint for Fazāra; P.H.S. d'Escayrac de Lauture, Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 4 serie, tome 1, 364-5; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 450-1 and MacMichael, History, i, 255.

(48) Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, The Arabs and the Sudan, Edinburgh 1967, 166.



in northern Dār Fūr between the Zaghāwa and the Meidob above al-Fāshir. (49)

Northern Rizayqāt.

The term, Northern Rizayqāt, covers various small groups of iammāla nomads, who relate themselves genealogically to the Rizayqāt Baqqāra of south-eastern Dār Fūr. They include groups such as the Nu<sup>c</sup>aybā, Mahāmīd, <sup>c</sup>Irayqāt and Mahrīya that were once more numerous in Dār Fūr. (50)

Arab Cattle-owning tribes.

The Baqqāra are the most important group numerically of the Arab tribes of Dār Fūr, but they played a minor part in the history of the Keira Sultanate, into which they were never fully integrated until the middle of the nineteenth century when they became a major factor in the downfall of the Keira. Baqqāra Arabs are to be found on the southern fringes of the savanna belt from Lake Chad to the White Nile. Their origins and subsequent history are a major problem in the history of the eastern and central Sudanic regions. The Dār Fūr Baqqāra appear to have links with the Chad Baqqāra rather than with their neighbours to the east. Since their history appears to be marked by constant migrations and reforming of tribal entities, it is probable that their present tribal groupings in Dār Fūr are quite recent.

(49) MacMichael, History, I, 262-3 and Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 77.

(50) MacMichael, History, I, 298-300 and Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 77-8.



Anthropology: Social Structure and Economic Change in Dar Fūr

The Baqqāra way of life made them a nuisance rather than a threat to the Keira sultanate, since in winter (October to January) they moved, as they still do, south to graze their animals along the Bahr al-<sup>ḥ</sup>Arab outside the effective control of the sultans, but in the rains they came north into the central regions and interrelated with the settled people, often causing trouble.

The main Baqqāra tribes in Dār Fūr are the Banī Halba, Banī Husayn, Habbāniya, Rizayqāt and Ta<sup>ḥ</sup>āisha. (51)

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(51) There is considerable literature on the Baqqāra, but no purely historical study; see I. Cunnison, Baqqara Arabs, Oxford 1966, with bibliography; MacMichael, History, I, 271-301; Theobald, Alī Dīnār, 12-4; Lebeuf, Les Populations, 89-97; Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 52-7; G.D. Lampen, S.N.R., XVI/2, 1933, 97-116 and F. Martine, "Essai sur l'histoire du pays Salamat", Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, V/2, 1924, 19-33.



## Appendix: Named Groups and Descent among the Fur.

shown by the fact that a high proportion of the male children

A note by G. Håland, *ibid.* On the other hand a Fur will

try to build up a cluster. The problem of the named groups among the Fur is an intricate one. How were they recruited and how did they function? Are they unilineally recruited or bilateral?

If you ask people about the importance of the male and the female line, you will get a strong emphasis on the male line; the bone from the father and the flesh from the mother. When you die it is the bones that are left, while the flesh disappears. Likewise in social life, male relations constitute the permanent ones which persist over time. These ideas are widespread in Dār Fūr and as far as I know they are a version of the Adam and Eve story in the Qur<sup>ʿān</sup>. Are these ideas then really an expression of the ideas that lay behind Fur social organisation? I do not think so and give some factors that indicate a bilateral organisation.

Local communities which are the basic units in Fur society exhibit a characteristic variation in terms of composition and this variation seems to follow a specific development pattern. New settlements are usually established by a core of brothers; the composition of such communities thus shows a clear patrilineal pattern. When their children grow up a change in the pattern emerges. Rivalry with reference to influence between male parallel cousins emerges and is expressed in proverbs and is also



shown by the fact that a high proportion of the male children tend to leave the settlement. On the other hand a Fur will try to build up a cluster of related people around himself by encouraging his daughters' husbands to settle uxorilocally. Older communities tend therefore to exhibit a more bilateral pattern.

The bilateral bias is also shown in ideas about the inheritance of witchcraft powers, which may be inherited through males and females. Likewise leprosy can be caught if a relative of a murdered man eats together with the murderer and in this case there is no distinction between relations on the male and female side. Also bridewealth is divided between the parents of the bride.

But the term, orri, "clan" would appear to indicate a more permanent grouping as does the term, orrang tobu, "head of an orri". In the lowlands, orri seems to mean kinsmen in general; in Jabal Marra, however, an orri constitutes a landowning group, in other words a corporation, and the orrang tobu is the head administering rights within the corporation. This group is recruited on the same principles that I have described for the village community. In fact very often the village consists of one such orri.

Now people will also refer to terms like daadinga, baasanga and musanga, when asked about their orri, although all those who identify themselves by such a term do not constitute a landowning group. It is probable



## CHAPTER II.

therefore that there was a hierarchy of such groups. As a working hypothesis I will suggest that the terms baasana etc., referred to wider political groupings. These groups are not mobilised today and informants are not able to specify their meaning in terms of rights and duties. I am fairly certain that they did not come about mechanically through the operation of the principles of kinship. I think they were created by influential persons who used various sources of authority to build up their position. Support on the basis of kinship loyalties is one such source, other sources are economic resources, relation to the sultan and other people on a higher level. Such amorphous groups tend to emerge on various levels of Fur society right down to the village level. Some grow and become significant on a regional basis. The terms then serve as labels of political identification.

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- (1) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 354-65; MacMichael, History, I, 65-76 and Arkell, S.N.R., XXII/1 & 2, 1951, 37-70 & 207-38, XXIII/1 and 2, 1952, 129-55 & 244-75. Arkell later modified his ideas, see S.N.R., XI, 1950, 144-7 and A History of the Sudan to 1898, second edition London 1961, 174-7 & 211-5.
- (2) There are at least two hundred known sites in Dar Fur, none of which have yet been excavated. An example of the sort of confusion that has arisen is the "mosque" at Sayn. Formerly Arkell first identified it as a mosque, S.N.R., XIX, 1935, 501-11, then decided it was a church, ESN, VII, 1939,



## chapter II.

### DĀR FŪR BEFORE THE KEIRA AND THE ORIGINS OF THE KEIRA STATE.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Various scholars, notably Nachtigal MacMichael and Arkell, have attempted to produce a coherent account of early Dār Fūr from the very scanty evidence available. (1)

This is not the place to produce a detailed critique of previous writings on early Dār Fūr, but it may be pointed out that they share various weaknesses. In general there is over-much reliance on amateur and speculative etymology, hypotheses based upon apparent similarities of place and tribal names, the assumption that the tribal unit and name is constant in time and often in place and deductions from brief visits to the as yet unexcavated ruins which are to be found all over Dār Fūr. (2) But perhaps the two most

(4) And since today most Arabs and Berbers in the Sudanic

(1) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 354-65; MacMichael, History, i, 66-76 and Arkell, S.N.R., XXXII/1 & 2, 1951, 37-70 & 207-38, XXXIII/1 and 2, 1952, 129-55 & 244-75. Arkell later modified his ideas, see S.N.R., XL, 1959, 44-7 and A History of the Sudan to 1821, second edition London 1961, 174-7 & 211-5. Shinnie, Neroe, London 1967, 165-9 and B.

(2) There are at least two hundred known sites in Dār Fūr, none of which have yet been excavated. An example of the sort of confusion that has arisen is the "mosque" at <sup>c</sup>Ayn 1, Farah; Arkell first identified it as a mosque, S.N.R., XIX, 1936, 301-11, then decided it was a church, Kush, VII, 1959,



fundamental weaknesses of earlier writings are an excessively diffusionist approach to state formation in the area and certain racial assumptions which have led to an overestimate of the importance of the nomad's, and in particular the Arab nomad's, political and cultural role within the area. Arkell has in fact put forward various diffusionist theories, one relating the origin of the states of this area to Meroe, another to Kanem/Bornu; the former has been discussed recently by Shinnie and Trigger, the latter will be considered later. (3)

provided perhaps the main Previous writers appear to have assumed, no doubt unconsciously, that the black Negroid peoples of the Sudanic region were incapable of establishing states or leaving behind such impressive material remains; therefore the successive states of the Dār Fūr region must all owe their origin to immigrants. These immigrants must, of necessity, be from the "white" races and if not Arabs, at the very least "Berbers", who can be accounted as "white".

(4) And since today most Arabs and Berbers in the Sudanic

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(2) contd., 115-9. Neufville and Houghton, Kush, XIII, 1965, 195-204, are certain it is a mosque; it has not been excavated yet.

(3) See P.L. Shinnie, Meroe, London 1967, 165-9 and B. Trigger, "The myth of Meroe and the African Iron Age", African Historical Studies, 1969, 1, 23-50.

(4) Thus, as one example from many, MacMichael, History, 1, 91, "Now the Fur of Gebel Marra and Sī and the Fur of the

due to an Arab strain which they have acquired."

(5) See Browne, Travels, 2:1.



region are nomads, the Sudanic states must owe their origin to immigrant Arab or Berber nomad groups. Because of these assumptions, most previous writers, with the notable exception of Nachtigal, have confined their attention to the question of where these immigrants came from and have written little on the internal history of the states.

That immigrant groups were involved in the growth of states in the region, and more importantly in the growth of the long distance caravan trade, which provided perhaps the main impetus to state formation, is undeniable. But it is much more likely that the immigrants, usually Muslims from the settled communities of the western Sudanic region, the Nile or North Africa, allied themselves by intermarriage, to a local state-forming group already expanding than that they provided the nucleus themselves. (5)

The adoption of Arab/Muslim genealogies and at a later stage of Islamic political and judicial terminology by the local dynasties of the central and eastern Sudanic region gives no reliable clue to the origin of the states, which within this region exhibit at

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(4) contd., west, in fact the Fur in general with the exception of the Kungāra branch, are socially, physically and intellectually inferior to the average of the tribes who are their neighbours to the east and north. But it is to the Kungāra whose virility has preserved to the race the predominance which was gained some three centuries ago by their ancestors, and this superiority of the Kungāra is evidently due to an Arab strain which they have acquired."

(5) See Browne, Travels, 241.



the most fundamental level, indigenous non-Islamic ritual and political characteristics, particularly that complex of beliefs and ritual associated with sacral kingship. (6)

Nomads in more recent times played a very minor part in the history of the Sudanic states around whose borders they lived, nor is there much evidence to suggest they were more important in earlier times. (7) The confusion over their rôle appears to have arisen out of the racial identification, Arab/Berber nomad and "white". (8)

The consensus of the oral historical traditions of Dār Fūr, as preserved in the nineteenth century travellers' accounts and later sources, is that there were in Dār Fūr three successive ruling dynasties, the Daju, Tunjur

(6) Vansina's remarks that the central Sudanic states appear not to have sacral kingship traits seems inaccurate, J. Vansina, "A comparison of African kingdoms", Africa, XXXII/4, 1962, 324-5. See also R.S. O'Fahey, "States and State Formation in the Eastern Sudan", African Studies Seminar 9, mimeograph, Khartoum 1970.

(7) An exception is the Baqqāra upheaval in Dār Fūr from 1870 to 1900, but the Baqqāra themselves did not play a state-forming rôle.

(8) This is emphasised in A.M.D. Lebeuf, Les Principautés Kotoko, Paris 1969, 41 where she criticises the widely accepted views of Urvoy on the origin of states in the central Sudanic region; for Urvoy's views, see Y. Urvoy, "Histoire de l'empire du Bornou", Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, VII, Dakar 1949, 21-4.



and Keira; also that the Daju had their main centre in the south, the Tunjur in the north and the Keira expanded outwards from the central mountain zone of Jabal Marra, and that with each dynasty there are associated various "Culture Heroes". Gustav Nachtigal, who of the travellers who visited the sultanate made the most exhaustive attempt to collect and collate the early historical traditions of Dār Fūr, and who had access, as he describes, to documents going back to the reign of the Keira Sultan, Muhammad Tayrāb (1176/1762-3 - 1200/1785-6), summed up his conclusions in three points,

- "1. The Daju ruled Dār Fūr for some centuries from the Marra mountains. Their dominion passed without violence into the hands of the Tunjur.
2. In the course of time the Tunjur linked up with the Fur section of the Keira, and from this combination emerged the Keira dynasty which eventually reigned in Dār Fūr, seizing power by violence from the hands of their relations, the Tunjur.
3. Islam first consolidated itself in Dār Fūr under the Keira rule, and chiefly in the time of Sulayman Solongdungoo, around 1600 A.D" (9)

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(9) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 360; throughout the thesis I have used the translation of Nachtigal being prepared for publication by Professor A.G.B. and Dr. H.J. Fisher, to which I have contributed notes. See also Arkell, S.N.R., XXXII/1, 1951, 45.



A hundred years later, it is difficult to add to or modify Nachtigal's conclusions, since Dār Fūr has been one of the most neglected areas of Africa for research by archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists.

(10) For this reason I have, in the rest of this chapter, merely reviewed the oral traditions as they have come down to us and attempted a reconstruction of the origin of the Keira state. In the absence of any archaeological excavation or any information on the wider links of the Fur language, the latter reconstruction must be largely speculative.

#### The Daju.

Our knowledge of the origin and history of the Daju is minimal. As we have seen, peoples who speak languages of the Daju language group are to be found widely spread in the eastern and central Sudanic region. The Daju share this characteristic of wide distribution with the Baqqāra, the Birged, who are to be found in Chad, Dār Fūr and Kordofan and the Tunjur, who are scattered in groups from northern Nigeria to Dār Fūr. Groups claiming to be Daju by genealogy are to be found interspersed among other tribes in Dār Fūr, such as the Genigergera of the Zaghāwa of Dār

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(10) No archaeological excavation, of any size, has ever been carried out in Dār Fūr. Only one of the twenty or more languages spoken in Dār Fūr has a written grammar, namely Fur, although in recent years work has begun on Zaghāwa (J. Tubiana), Berti (K. Petracek), Fur (B. Jernudd) and Daju (R. Thelwall).



Galla and the Dajok of the Mileri of Jabal Mūn in northern Dār Masālīt, as do the ruling dynasties of Zaghāwa Kobe and Dār Tāma. (11)

There has been a variety of theories on the origin of the Daju, or at least their ruling group, although there is little evidence that such a distinction is valid. Browne was told that the Daju came from the region of Tunis in north Africa, although from other remarks of his, he may have confused the Daju with the Tunjur. (12) Nachtigal regarded them as a non-Arab group who came from somewhere in the east. (13) Of more recent writers, MacMichael supports an eastern origin, connecting them with the Funj, the traditional founders of the Sinnār sultanate, while Arkell identifies the Daju with a group called Tājūwa تاجوة or Tājūwiyīn, mentioned in several medieval Arab geographers as a branch of the Zaghāwa and vaguely located in the Sahara between Kanem and Nubia, and suggests they were a Berber.

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(11) See above 126; on the Genigergera, personal communication, Dr. A.J. Arkell; Dajok, Hasandand O'Fahey, S.N.R., LI, 1970, 152-61, Zaghāwa Kobe, Tubiana, Survivances, 28, where 'Abdullāhī Bōru founder of the Zaghāwa Kobe sultanate is described as the son of the Daju "Culture Hero", Ahmad al-Daj; Tāma, H.G.B. Balfour Paul, History and Antiquities of Darfur, Khartoum 1955, 9.

(12) Browne, Travels, 280.

(13) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 358.

(14) Balfour Paul, History and Antiquities, 9-10.



group. (14) From the slight evidence we have there does seem to have been a drift of Daju groups from Kordofan going westwards, although more recent linguistic evidence suggests that within the more general movement there has been a series of complex migrations and counter-migrations giving rise to the present language pattern. (15)

In all probability, the Daju are part of a very ancient layer of the Sudanic peoples, with very remote links with the Nubians and Nuba. (16) It has been implied that the Daju created a "highly-centralised slave-based autocracy" in Dār Fūr. (17) But there are few important sites in Dār Fūr ascribed to the Daju and the oral traditions suggest rather that we are dealing with one or more tribal states in southern Dār Fūr and Kordofan, which came into conflict with their Fur neighbours, as is perhaps

(14) MacMichael, History, 1, 71-6, where most of the references to the Daju are assembled; Arkell, S.N.R., XXXII/1, 1951, 62-70, where the Arab geographical references are given; these references are very vague, as indeed was the use of such terms as "Zaghāwa" and "Zanj" etc., in such sources and it seems impossible either to confirm or deny the Daju/Tājūwa identification.

(15) Personal communication, R. Thelwall, who also suggests that Shatt is the most distantly related of the Daju language group. V. Fâquet, "Origine et caractères de la langue dajou au"

(16) Greenberg, Languages of Africa, 85-6; see also figure 2.

(17) Balfour Paul, History and Antiquities, 9-10. He writes



remembered in the figure of the Daju ruler, <sup>C</sup>Umar Kassifuroge, "Eater of the Fur", and which were eventually incorporated into the Keira state. (18) Under the Keira sultans, we hear almost nothing of the Daju of Dār Fūr.

### The Traditions of Origin.

The oral traditions concerning the Keira appear to regard Sulaymān Solongdungoo as the first truly historical sultan. (19) Before Sulaymān we are presented with a confused welter of traditions revolving around a series of "Culture Heroes", Kurooma, Kuuruu, Daali, Shaw Dorshid and Ahmad al-Ma<sup>C</sup>qūr. Behind all this confusion it perhaps possible to discern two strands of tradition; one concerned with a Fur tribal kingdom expanding outwards from central Jabal Marra, the other with one or more Islamised groups, such as the Tunjur. But it is impossible, and it would be futile to try, to harmonise into any historical sequence these diverse traditions. (20)

(18) Balfour Paul, History and Antiquities, 19-20.

(19) Thus all the sultanic seals from Dār Fūr I have seen begin the genealogy with Sulaymān or Ahmad Bukr; see, for example, N. Shuqayr, Ta<sup>o</sup>rikh al-Sūdān al-qadīm wa<sup>l</sup>-hadīth wa-l-ughrafiyatuhu, Cairo n.d. (1903) 3 vols., reprinted Beirut 1967 in 1 vol.; 485; throughout this thesis I have used the Beirut reprint.

(20) V. Pâques, "Origine et caractères du pouvoir royal au Baquirmi", Journal de la Société des Africanistes, XXXVII/2, 1967, 183-214, points out the foolishness of trying to write



in Dār Fūr today, it is not. The "Culture Heroes" or "Wise Strangers" appear to play a dual role; they personify the various ritually important aspects of the informant's conception of history and of his society and in several cases they provide the link with the outside world, pre-eminently the world of Islam, thus legitimising both the dynasty and, in a sense, "history". For in the Dār Fūr, and this concept is common to classical Islam, "history" begins with Islam, or at least "history" comes to Dār Fūr with Islam. (21)

In the absence of archaeological or linguistic evidence, which means we lack both certain chronology or reliable data on group relationships, our sole source from which to reconstruct the probable origin of the Keira dynasty and state and their relationship with their predecessors, the Tunjur, is the oral historical traditions collected in the last hundred years. And since "myths of origin" appear to serve non-historical purposes, they are not perhaps very reliable guides.

With the destruction of the Keira sultanate over fifty years ago and the widespread literacy

(23) On one occasion when interviewing the madam Muhammad

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(20) contd., history from "myths of origin", which was a fault common to the nineteenth century travellers; see also Lebeuf, Principautés Kotoko, 55. French social anthropologists have emphasised the "mythic" character of "myths of origin"; their English counterparts look for an historical substratum. The widespread similarities in such stories perhaps makes the former approach preferable.

(21) See, for example, the disappearance of the Fertit in Hasan and O'Fahey, S.N.R., LI, 1970, 152-61.



in Dār Fūr today, it is now very difficult to find "uncontaminated" custodians of oral traditions about the sultanate, as opposed to tribal or family traditions, (22) The view of Dār Fūr history presented in Shuqayr and to a lesser extent in MacMichael and Arkell, is now widely disseminated. (23)

I have given below, in chronological sequence, the main variants of the "traditions of origin". These vary widely in provenance and are obviously unequal in value; nevertheless, despite defective sources, they illustrate the increasing complexity and Islamisation of the traditional view of the origin of the Keira state. (24)

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(22) In the years following the occupation of Dār Fūr in 1916 disputes concerning hawākīr and chieftancies continually arose. As is apparent from the files in al-Fāshir, Condominium officials in attempting to resolve these, developed a standard view of Dār Fūr history which was then "fed back" through tribal meetings. This process was accelerated by the widespread interest in local history shown by the Condominium officials.

(23) On one occasion when interviewing the magdūm Muḥammad al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ādam Rijāl, he sent for his copy of Shuqayr to clarify a point in his narrative to me.

(24) I have summarised the longer versions, but in some instances, both in the summaries and in those passages directly quoted I have given first the original spelling of names except the most obvious ones, and then the standard form in brackets where these can be identified.



1. BROWNE, Travels, 280

"But as the people of the country (i.e. Dār Fūr) possess no written documents, I found those of whom I inquired (sic.) often at variance both with regard to the genealogy and the succession of their monarchs. In all countries these are points of small import; but especially in one of which so few particulars are known to us. It may be yet remarked, that they commonly mention the reign of Solyman (Sulaymān Solongdungoo), as the epocha (sic.) when Islamism began to prevail in the country. Describing this Sultan, at the same time, as of the Dageou (Daju) race, which swayed the sceptre long before that of Fur became powerful.

Circumstances have inclined me to believe, that the reign of this prince must have been from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty years ago."

On what the natives relate of their early history, little dependence can be placed: but it seems that the Dageou race came originally from the North, having been expelled from that part of Africa, now, nominally at least, under the dominion of Tunis."



2. AL-TUNISĪ, Tashhīdh, 83-4, Darfur, 66-7. then subject

"Several men, worthy of belief and who knew well the genealogy of the Fur Sultans, told me that Sultan Saloun (Solongdungoo), also called Sulaymān and the ancestor of the sultans of Dār Fūr, had a brother called Moucabba (Musabba<sup>c</sup>). (25) They divided between themselves the kingdom, that is to say, Dār Fūr and Kordofan, which had originally formed one government. Sulaymān took Dār Fūr and Musabba<sup>c</sup>, Kordofan, and they promised on oath never to venture anything against each other. This state of peace lasted until the time of Sultan Muhammad Tayrāb." (26)

3. CADALVÈNE AND BREUVÉRY, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 198-9.

4. D'ESCAVRAC DE LAURENS, Mémoires, 79.

"The oldest documents on the history of Kordofan go back a little more than  
language, nomad, Arab) (Sulaymān Solongdungoo),

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(25) Footnote in text, "Sultan Saloun, according to the learned men of Dār Fūr, reigned nearly two centuries ago. He was the founder of the present ruling family."

(26) Al-Tūnisī was told, while in Wadai after his stay in Dār Fūr, by a sharīf Sumayh that Sulaymān, Sālih, the founder of the Muslim Wadai dynasty, and Musabba<sup>c</sup>, the founder of the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt, were all brothers from the Arab tribe, Fazāra, and that Sulaymān went to Dār Fūr, where he ousted the Tunjur; Quaday, 73.



four centuries. The country was then subject for a long time to the princes who ruled Dār Fūr, and who belonged to a sect called Dagou (Daju). (27) Tungur (Tunjur) and Kachifor were the last two pagan rulers of that country and the only ones whose names are remembered. (28) They ruled about the year 850 hiirī (1446-7). At this time, Ahmed-el-Maagour (Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr), an Arab of the Khoreisch (Quraysh), and a descendant in the direct line of Abdallah-ebn-Abbas (<sup>c</sup>Abdallāh b. <sup>c</sup>Abbās) (29) uncle of the Prophet, succeeded at the head of a few nomad tribes in invading Dār Fūr and established Islam there, having put the pagan chiefs to flight."

5. BARTH, *Travels and Discoveries*, 111, 528.

4. D'ESCAYRAC DE LAUTURE, *Mémoire*, 79.

treated of Soliman-Solon (Solon, in the Fur language, nomad, Arab) (Sulaymān Solongdungoo),

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(27) "Sect" as a translation of "secte" in the original French.

(28) "Kachifor" is possibly <sup>c</sup>Umar Kassifuroge, see above 56.

(29) Footnote in text, "It is from Fodel (Fadl), brother of <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh b. <sup>c</sup>Abbās, that the nomad tribes of Refaa (Rufā<sup>c</sup>a), Oulad-Fodel (Awlād Fadl), Kaouahles (Kawāhla) and Guiaalin (Ja<sup>c</sup>aliyīn), claim descent." 33.

(31) Barth, *Travels and Discoveries*, 111, 429-30.



son of a Toumourki (Tamūrka) (30) and an Arab girl of the Biderieh (Bidaynya) of Kordofan, visited Egypt and did not return to Dār Fūr until he had become a Muslim. He preached Islam in Jabal Marra and after several conversions, also converted malik Dukume (Dokumi), chief of the Toumourki, whom he circumcised with a razor that he had brought from Cairo and which had to do for several thousand people. Sulaymān was proclaimed king and established his capital at Bir-Nabak (wells of the lotus) (Bīr Nabaq) his reign, if one can call a very paternal exercise of authority based upon opinion and not force a reign, was very long and very prosperous."

5. BARTH, Travels and Discoveries, iii, 528.

"In the chapter wherein we have treated of the history of Bagirmi (31) we have seen that the tribe of the Tynjur (Tunjur) founded a large empire, which, as it consisted of an agglomeration of heterogeneous elements loosely connected together, was overwhelmed and torn to pieces in less than one hundred years

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(30) Tamūrka is the name of one of the three main territorial divisions of Fūr; see above 33.

(31) Barth, Travels and Discoveries, iii, 429-30.



after its foundation. The first part which separated from the body, comprises the eastern regions; Kūrū (kuuruu), the third predecessor of Sulaymān, who was the first Muslim king of Dār Fūr, vanquishing the Tynjur (Tunjur), and vindicating the dominion of those quarters to the tribe of the Fur." Shaw concludes the Tunjur rulers, and is also generally known in

5. NACHTIGAL, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 359-63.

The Dadscho (Daju) originally ruled in Jabal Marra. They were not Arabs and were peacefully superseded by the Tundscher (Tunjur) who claim to come from Tunis and to be linked with Abu Zeid (Abū Zayd). The ancestor of the Tunjur in Dār Fūr is Ahmed el-Maḡūr (Ahmad al-Maḡūr), whom the Kera (Keira) also claim as their ancestor.

"At the time when Ahmad al-Maḡūr came into the country, he had understood how to establish himself in the favour of the then ruler, whom tradition calls Kuroma (Kurooma), but who is not mentioned in any written list of rulers. Kurooma had married a daughter of the Keira chief Fora (Fora), who bore him a son Schau or Sau (Shaw). Later he divorced this wife, and when Ahmad al-Maḡūr became his favourite, she had been given to him as a wife;



from this marriage Dali (Daali) was born. Some however depart from this tradition so far as to say that first Rifaa (Rufā<sup>c</sup>a), the son of Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr, married the Keira chief's daughter, and from this marriage Shaw and Daali were born. But the two men cannot have had the same parents, for in all lists of rulers Shaw concludes the Tunjur rulers, and is also generally known in popular tradition as the last king of the Tunjur, while his halfbrother Daali, whose proper name is Delil Bahar (Dalīl Bahr), is always recorded as the founder of the Keira dynasty."

Shaw was a tyrannical ruler, who used to compel his subjects to dig wells in high rocky regions and to level the tops of mountains, where he could build palaces. The notables of the country asked Daali to depose Shaw; Shaw was defeated and fled the country.

Daali was the first great ruler from the Keira; he lived at Jabal Name (Nāmi) and Turi (Turra) in Jabal Marra. "Three hours to the east of Turra there stands a nabaq tree, which is popularly known as numan fedda, (the silver nabaq), after a ring of the king's which was lost there. From there king Daali divided the kingdom into the provinces of Dār Daali (east), Dār Uma (Dār Uuma) (south), Dar Dima



(Dār Dīma) (south-west), Dār al-Rīh, or Dar-Tokonyawi (Dār al-Takanyāwī) (north) and Dār al-gharb (west), and established the general principles which assured their revenues to the officials of the administration. He then proclaimed the criminal law, which in the course of time was written down in the so-called Daali book. (32) The principles which guided him in establishing these laws were obviously not at all based on Islam, but rather on the effort to assure power and an adequate income for the ruler and his officials, and to establish solidarity between them. There is no death penalty, no corporal punishment, no limitation of personal freedom. For the gravest offences, as for trivial offences, he prescribed fines in the shape of payments of cattle or teqāqī (takāqī) (strips of cotton), varying according to the seriousness of the offence."

Daali reigned about the middle of the fifteenth century and was followed by some

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(32) Despite Nachtigal's assertion, the Kitāb Daali appears either not to have existed in written form or not to have survived into modern times. Arkell found what purported to be the Kitāb Daali; Arkell Papers, file 17, and a brief description in S.N.R., XXXIII/1, 1952, 145.



ten kings, about whom little is known.

Kuru (Kuuruu), the father of Sulaymān probably did not reign. He fought unsuccessfully against Tinsam or Tunsam, the ancestor of the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt. (33) Tunsam was eventually driven from Dār Fūr by Sulaymān who succeeded Kuuruu.

7. SLATIN, Fire and Sword, 38-42.

The original tribes of Dār Fūr were the Fur and the Daju, the latter ruling the country from Jabal Marra.

The Tunjur Arabs migrated from Tunis, through Bornu and Wadai to Dār Fūr; the first to arrive being two brothers, <sup>c</sup>Alī and Ahmad. <sup>c</sup>Alī's wife fell in love with Ahmad, who refused her advances, so she accused her brother-in-law of adultery with her. <sup>c</sup>Alī hamstringed his brother and left him to die; hence his nickname, ma<sup>c</sup>qūr. (34)

But later <sup>c</sup>Alī, repenting of what he had done, sent two of his slaves Zayid and Birged, the ancestors of the Birged and

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(33) Tunsam was later arabicised to Tumsāh, "crocodile"; see MacMichael, History, 11, 154-5.

(34) ma<sup>c</sup>qūr from the Arabic, ḥagara, "to hamstring".



8. SHUQAYR, Zayādīya, to help his brother. They took Ahmad to Kor, a Daju king, where he recovered and rapidly won the favour of the king, by initiating various reforms; "One of those, still quoted, is the wonderful change he effected in the king's household. It had been the custom for centuries for any retainer to take his food at the time it pleased him, quite regardless of the wants of others. It therefore frequently happened that, "first come, first served", nothing remained for the later arrivals, who, in their anger, would fall on their comrades, and as often as not blood would be shed. Ahmad reformed all this by establishing a fixed hour for meals, at which all must be present, with the happy result that peace and tranquillity prevailed". Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr married Kor's daughter and succeeded him as king.

"His great grandson was the celebrated Sultan "Dali" whose mother belonged to the Keira\_Fur tribe, and thus consanguinity was established between the Blacks and the Tunjur dynasty. Dali was a very enlightened

(35) Shuqayr ruler; he travelled a great deal, and collected around him many men who could read and write;

(36) Shuqayr he divided the country into provinces and districts, and wrote the celebrated "kitāb Daali, or penal code."



8. SHUQAYR, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 1441-3. (35) Fur state they

It is believed in the Sudan that the Fur are of Arab origin and some Fur claim <sup>c</sup>Abbāsīd descent.

9. AHMAD ADAM AL-KINANI, Arksall Fur, file 13, folio 47.

They say that after the fall of Baghdad in 823/1421, the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsīd family scattered (36). Two brothers, <sup>c</sup>Alī and Ahmad Sufyān went to Tunis. <sup>c</sup>Alī's wife fell in love with Ahmad and when he would not give in to her, accused him before her husband of seducing her. In rage <sup>c</sup>Alī hamstringed his brother.

The slaves of Ahmad bore their master from Tunis to Jabal Marra in Dār Fūr. The people of Jabal Marra were the Fur and their king was Shaw Dōrshīd. Ahmad rose in the favour of the king, who gave him his daughter as wife; their son was Sulaymān. After the deaths of Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr and Shaw Dōrshīd Sulaymān became the first ruler of Dār Fūr of Arab blood.

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(35) Shuqayr's main informants were Slatin and Imām al-Tayyib of Turra, see below 101.

(36) Shuqayr gives A.D 1421 as equivalent to A.H. 823; actually 823 ran from 17.1.1420 to 5.1.1421. But, in fact, the extinction of the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsīd Caliphate in Baghdad was in 656/1258.



The people of Dār Fūr state they come from Tunis and are descendants of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī. (37)

9. AHMAD ADAM AL-KINANI, Arkell Papers, file 13, folio 47.

It was in the time of Shaw Dōrshīd that Islam came to Dār Fūr, but he was not a Muslim and so was driven out by his brother, Sol Buute, (buute, "short", Fur), who became sultan. It was in Sol's reign that some Zag-hāwa found an Arab who had been hamstrunged with his camel and his slave, Kunjar, in the region of the Wādī Howar and they took him to the sultan. This was Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr al-Hilālī. Ahmad al-Hilālī introduced the basmala before eating. Sol Buute gave Ahmad his daughter, Keira, in marriage and they had two sons, Sulaymān Solongdungoo and <sup>c</sup>Umar.

10. <sup>c</sup>ALI ISHĀQA, Mudiriya, DP. 66. K. 1/31, El Fasher District, Arari dinligia; from a note by F.C. Aglen, 22. 6. 1948.

"While on the subject of Solongdungoo, <sup>c</sup>Ali Ishāqa told me that when Solongdungoo first came to Shaw's court he was, being

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(37) See also Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 442-3.



a Muslim, horrified that the people ate without saying grace. They used to eat vast quantities of food. Solongdunoo persuaded some soldiers to say grace and a very small quantity of food satisfied them. When Shaw asked why so little had been eaten the soldiers said that owing to the guest's new beliefs they had been satisfied considering with less. So they all became Muslims."

11. MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM, a Keira, interviewed Zalingei, 27. 5. 1969.

Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr came from north Africa; he was an Arab. He visited Shaw Dorshid. The people were surprised at him since he had in his possession a book, the Qur<sup>ān</sup>. He was called al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr. Solongdunoo, meaning an Arab.

The people told Shaw Dorshid that Ahmad wrote and prayed. When Ahmad found the people eating he told them to say basmala before doing so. This they did and were happy and told Shaw Dorshid, who called Ahmad to him.

When Ahmad came to the king, he was made chief of the korkwa. (38) After awhile Shaw Dorshid began to find things appearing magically in his store. When the king saw this he was very happy.

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(38) korkwa, "spearmen"; see below 145-7.



The king had one sister; her name was Keira. Shaw Dorshid told his kings that he was marrying his sister to Ahmad. They had a son, who was Sulaymān Solongdugoo. (40)

Indeed it may not be too fanciful to suggest that there is a linguistic link between It is perhaps possible to comment on some of the elements in the traditions given above before considering Arkell's two hypotheses of Christian Nubian or Bornu influence in the Dār Fūr region and before attempting to reconstruct the probable origins of the Keira state.

The traditions as they have come down to us appear to be a conflation of Fur tribal memories and "Islamised" "Wise Stranger" traditions, represented respectively by the figures of Daali and Kuurru and Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr. Behind the shadowy figures of Kuurru and Daali there is undoubtedly the reality of a Fur tribal kingdom based on the central Jabal Marra region around Turra. And, from this kingdom come the most fundamental rituals, titles and institutions of the later Keira state. Little more can be said about this kingdom until the sites of Jabal Marra associated with Kuurru and Daali are excavated. (39)

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(39) It is not too much to say that the "Wise Stranger" - Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr - has driven out the Daali/Kuurru tradition; during my trips to Dār Fūr, I heard very little about Daali.

tribution towards the classification of the languages of the eastern fragmentation belt", mimeograph London 1976.



giving examples from the In the traditions there is considerable confusion between Keira and Tunjur; a confusion which not even Nachtigal was able to disentangle. The close link between the two dynasties is constantly stressed. (40) Indeed it may not be too fanciful to suggest that there is a linguistic link between the names, Tunjur and Kunjara, the latter the name of the division of the Fur from which the Keira come, since in Fur T/K singular/plural forms are common. (41)

3. The story of the Muslim "Wise Stranger" coming to a pagan kingdom, introducing Islam and new patterns of behaviour, marrying the local ruler's daughter whose son founds a Muslim dynasty, is widespread in the central and eastern Sudan. But behind the stories as we have them today, there are probably two traditions, a Muslim "Wise Stranger" and a much older pagan "Wise Stranger". Holt, in a recent article, has discussed this theme briefly,

of *mutterrecht* (or related customs) in an Islamised society.

(40) see versions 6, 8, 9, 11.

(41) see M.A. Bryan, "The T/K languages: a new substratum", *Africa*, XXIX/1, 1959, 1-21 and examples in Beaton, *Fur Grammar*; Miss Bryan's work on the T/K languages may well throw considerable light on the early history of Dār Fūr, see "The examination of specific morphological features as a contribution towards the classification of the languages of the eastern fragmentation belt", mimeograph London 1970.

(Bani Kair).



giving examples from the eastern Sudanic region. (42) He draws three conclusions which may be summarised; Islamisation is a much more recent phenomenon. Some examples are:

1. They are all legends of cultural contact between an ancient centre of civilisation and barbarous peripheral regions.

2. The emphasis on the Nile, or the Ja<sup>c</sup>all region, as a centre of civilisation may be a folk-memory of cultural influence anterior to the Islamisation of Upper Nubia.

3. The assertion that a dynasty is derived from the marriage of a king's daughter to a stranger should, in the absence of supporting evidence, be viewed as a folk-lore theme rather than an historical fact. Where it occurs it is probably evidence of cultural

(43) Urvoy, Bornu contact. It may also be an aetiological figure in Yamani legend, explaining the anomalous persistence of mutterrecht (or related customs) in an Islamised society. 1910, 153-77.

(44) P.H.S. d'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire sur le Soudan, Paris 1855-6, 73 and Barth, Apart from the precisely delineated "Wise Stranger" figure, discussed by Holt, we have examples in the eastern and central Sudanic area of dynastic heroes, (sometimes describes as Muslim sometimes not, but often linked

(42) P.M. Holt, J.A.H., IV/1, 1963, 51-2, giving such M.J. stories from the Funj, Dār Fūr, Jabal Taqalī and the Nabtāb (Banī <sup>c</sup>Amir).



to some well-known Islamic (or pre-Islamic) figure or family, founding dynasties which rule states, whose actual Islamisation is a much more recent phenomenon. Some examples are;

1. Kanem; Sayfuwa dynasty founded by Sayf b. Dhī Yazan from the Yaman. Islam is established as the state cult much later. (43)
2. Baqirmi; Baqirmi dynasty established by Dokenge, also of Yamanī descent, but the Islamisation of the state associated with the mbang Malo, five or six generations later. (44)
3. Wadai; <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Karīm or Sālih overthrows the pagan Tunjur dynasty and establishes a Muslim dynasty, which claims <sup>C</sup>Abbāsīd descent. (45)

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(43) Urvoy, Bornou, 21-7; Sayf b. Dhī Yazan is a pre-Islamic figure in Yamanī tradition, see A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, London 1954, 30-3 and C.H. Becker, "Zur Geschichte des Ostlichen Sudan", Der Islam, 1, 1910, 153-77.

(44) P.H.S. d'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire sur le Soudan, Paris 1855-6, 73 and Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 431-4; see also Pâques, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, XXXVII/2, 1967, 183-214.

(45) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 73; Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 528-9; de Lauture, Mémoire, 77, where Sālih is said to marry the daughter of the Tunjur ruler; see also J. and M.J. Tubiana, "Un document inédit sur les sultans du Waddai", Cahiers d'études africaines, XI, 1960, 49-112.

(47) See P.M. Holt, "The 'al-Bayḍān'", E.I.O., II, 351-2.



tion, although it no doubt In these, and other examples, we have a projection back into the past of a process of genealogical legitimization, whereby a ruling group is fitted into a genealogical framework which was originally elaborated by Muslims from Arab tribal traditions and which appear to have little to do with the actual Islamisation of the people or state. In some cases the dynastic hero is presented as a Muslim, as in Wadai, in others the presentation is extremely ambiguous. (46)

It is not possible in the Dār Fūr traditions to separate out the historical from the "mythical" statements. At some point along the Fūr tribal continuum, the "Wise Stranger", Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr, appears. His origin is vague; commonly he is linked to Abū Zayd and the north African Hilālī tradition, but it is significant that in the earliest mention of him - Cadalvène and Breuvé<sup>r</sup>y, 3, - he is described as an <sup>c</sup>Abbāsī, which probably implies a link with the Ja<sup>c</sup>aliyīn, an arabised Nubian group, and the northern Nilotic Sudan. (47) The Abū Zayd link would seem a later sophistica-

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(46) See Tubiana, Survivances, 21 on <sup>c</sup>Abdullahī Boru, "à l'inverse d'Abd al-Karīm (of Wadai), Boru n'est jamais présenté comme un convertisseur et un bâtisseur des mosquées.

On le voit au contraire composer avec les autochtones et peut-être même abandonner partiellement sa religion pour suivre la leur." In the Kotoko states, the integration of the indigenous and Islamic traditions is even less advanced than in neighbouring states, see Lebeuf, Principautés Kotoko, 53-80.

(47) See P.M. Holt, "Dja<sup>c</sup>aliyyūn", E.I.<sup>2</sup>, II, 351-2.



tion, although it no doubt reflects memories of Dār Fūr's links with the Maghrib. (48) The marriage appears in the traditions as more of a "charter" binding together the old and the new; hence the confusion as to whether there really was a change of dynasty. The "Wise Stranger" introduces new customs; those associated with eating are especially mentioned. Islam is not particularly associated with Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr; the emphasis, as it were, is on his introducing new and more sophisticated customs, reflecting perhaps the impact of more "civilised" ways on an emerging but still barbarous, from the point of view of the Islamic world, people. However, one can perhaps note an increasing Islamisation of the tradition of the reform of eating habits by Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr in the sources 7, 10 and 11. (49) In Dār Fūr Islamisation is more closely associated with the historical sultan, Sulaymān Solongdungoo, and this accords with the evidence that Islamisation, among the non-Arab peoples at least, occurred essentially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (52)

Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr marries the king's daughter; their son or descendants found a new Muslim dynasty. In the institutions of the later sultanate, the role of the Queen Mother, iiya baasi, and premier wife, iiya kuuri, certainly reflect the existence of some sort of

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(48) The Abū Zayd cycle of stories is widespread in the Islamic world and in the Sudanic belt; on their variants in Kordofan, see MacMichael, Northern and Central Kordofan, 231-4.

(49) Compare this with the Funj traditions, Holt, J.A.H., IV/1, 1963, 50. of the main Funj, Tanjur and Kelra sites.



mutterrecht, though probably not, as MacMichael suggests, of matrilineal descent. (50) The marriage appears in the traditions as more of a "charter" binding together the old and the new; hence the confusion as to whether there really was a change of dynasty.

they may well have originated in Christian Nubia. There is, The Tunjur, Bornu and the Rise of the Keira.

It was probably during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the Tunjur established some form of trading empire in northern Dār Fūr, which may well have been found at Ayn Farah. Other pieces, dated to between 1100 and 1350 A.D. have been found in northern Chad, been contemporary with the Daju in the south. Their empire at Koro Toro in the Chad Basin, al-Ghazal and Tie in Kanem. (54) or trading network may have stretched quite far to the west, since there are traditions of Tunjur rule in Wadai and Kanem. (51) The size and wealth of this empire may be inferred from east and the Meidob in the latter still speak a Nubian language. (53) to them, including the two large and important sites of Uri and Ayn Farah. (52)

(50) MacMichael, History, i, 92; descent through daughter's son is not matrilineal descent. Matrilineal descent, i.e. descent through sister's son, is mentioned in one version, 11. 1929, 112-3.

(51) Barth, Travels and Discoveries, iii, 528-9; H. Carbou, (54) Arkell, Kush, XI, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 3854, 3855, 3856, 3857, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 38



The traditions concerning the Tunjur do not make it clear whether they were Muslim or not or indeed where they came from. It is possible that they were a Nubian or Nubianised group and insofar as their period of dominance in Dār Fūr appears to have preceeded the coming of Islam, they may well have originated in Christian Nubia. There is, at present, some slight evidence of Christian Nubian influence in Dār Fūr and Chad; pieces of Christian Nubian type pottery, roughly datable to between 750 to 1100 A.D., have been found at <sup>C</sup>Ayn Farah. (53) Other pieces, dated to between 1100 and 1350 A.D., have been found in northern Chad, at Koro Toro in the Chad Bahr al-Ghazāl and Tie in Kanem. (54) Certain groups in Dār Fūr do have traditions of migration from the northern Nilotic Sudan, such as the Birged in the east and the Meidob in the north; the latter still speak a Nubian language. (55)

and des Birgedi", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXV, 1928, 4-67. On the Meidob

(53) It was on the basis of this pottery that Arkell decided that the "mosque" at <sup>C</sup>Ayn Farah was a "church", see above 48-9 and Arkell, *Kush*, XI, 1963, 320-1. See also A.P.G. Michelmore, *S.N.R.*, XV, 1932, 272 and C.G. Dupuis, *S.N.R.*, XII/1, 1929, 112-3. Kaqūb, (al-Fāshir, 1.5.1970), who suggested they

(54) Arkell, *Kush*, XI, 1963, 315-9, and A.D.H. Bivar and P.L. Shinnie, "Old Kanurā capitals", *Journal of African History*, III/1, 1962, 1-10. I am grateful to Professor Shinnie for identifying the periods of the pottery types.

(55) On the connexion of Birged and Meidob with Nubian, see E. Zylharz, "Die stellung der zwei nubischen dialekte, des centre of Nyala.



To account for the collapse of the Tunjur empire and to explain the early traditions and institutions of the Keira state, Arkell has posited a period of Bornu rule in Dār Fūr. This he dates to the reign of the great Bornu mai, Muhammad b. Idrīs Katakarmabe, 1526-1545, and sees in Daali a memory of a slave governor of Kanem who ruled in Dār Fūr, Dāla Afnu. (56) The main weakness of Arkell's hypothesis, as he admits, is Dār Fūr preserves no traditions of a period of Bornu rule. However there are all over Dār Fūr old-established communities of immigrants from Bornu; Manawāshī is the best known one. (57) Also certain ruling groups in Dār Fūr trace their origin to a "Wise Stranger" from Bornu; thus the morginga clan of the Fur, from whom comes the title-holder, aba diimang, claims descent

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(55) contd., Meidobi und des Birgedi", Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXXV, 1928, 4-67. On the Meidob and Birged traditions of origin, see MacMichael, History, 1, 77-80 and 58-64 and G.D. Lampen, S.N.R., XI, 1928, 55-62. I was told similar traditions by shartai Muhammad Adam Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb, of Dār Birged (Ghōr Abeshei, 26.6.1969) and by his brother, Sabīl Adam Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb, (al-Fāshir, 1.6.1970), who suggested they referred to certain Birged clans only.

(56) Arkell, S.N.R., XXXIII/1, 1952, 129-55; on Muhammad b. Idrīs see Urvoy, Bornou, 73, who dates him 1529-1544. See also Balfour Paul, History and Antiquities, 10-14.

(57) The Bornu community of Manawāshī has virtually disappeared because of migration to the growing commercial centre of Nyala.



from Ahmad al-Burnūwī; and the Agaba Zaghāwa of Dār Tuar claim descent from one Muhammad al-Burnūwī, who came from Yewa in northern Nigeria, while the old ruling clan of Manawāshī claim a Magumi Sayfuwa origin. (58)

While some of Arkell's comparisons between the institutions and titles of Kanem/Bornu and Dār Fūr seem based on dubious etymology, enough can stand to suggest that the institutions of the Keira state were in some way influenced by those of Kanem/Bornu; the use of such words as mayram for the royal women, fāshir for the sultan's enclosure, the fourfold provincial structure, red brick building and the system of granting estates to title-holders, all suggest a link between Dār Fūr and Kanem/Bornu. But such evidences of apparent Bornu influence are to be found in several central Sudanic states, such as the Kotoko states, Baqirmi, Fezzan and Wadai, and until the history of the

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(58) On the Mornings, See Beaton and Cooke, S.N.R., XXII/2, 1939, 186-203; I was told the same story by the aba diimang, Sise Muhammad Atīm, (Zalingei, 27.5.1969). On the Agaba Zaghāwa, Sharīf Muhammadayn Adam and Sālīh <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh Ahmad, (Kutum, 25.6.1970) and see below 114. On the Bornu of Manawāshī, <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī b. Jamūs, (Nyala, 2.7.1969) and Fadl b. Mūsā, (al-Fāshir, 3.5.1970). Another interesting example is the Feroqe of the Bahr al-Ghazāl, S. Santandrea, A Tribal History of the Western Bahr el Ghazal, Bologna 1964, 162-9.



## APPENDIX B: The Regnal Lists

entire region is better known, there is little that can be said either way for Arkell's hypothesis. (59)

Whether or not Bornu ruled in Dār Fūr, a Fur ruling group which probably owed something to the imperial traditions of Kanem/Bornu and the Tunjur, to whom they may have been related, did emerge in central Jabal Marra, probably in the fifteenth century, if the names in the regnal lists before Sulaymān Solongdungoo are Keira. We know nothing certain of the pre-Sulaymānic period. The Kunjara division of the Fur, to whom belonged the Keira, no doubt gradually united the Fur mountain clans until in the time of Sulaymān they were able to move down to the plains and begin their imperial career; the main impetus being perhaps their desire to exploit the benefits and political advantages of long-distance trade.

b. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīh, 73 and Bayān, 55.

Sulaymān about 1500

Abū 'l-Ḥasan, brother

Muḥammad Fayrāb, brother

Abū al-Raḥmān, brother

Muḥammad al-Fadl, son

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(59) See glossary for mayram and fāshir.



APPENDIX B: The Regnal Lists.

In this appendix I have given most of the regnal lists from Dār Fūr. Where they can be identified I have standardised the spelling of the names. The dates are those given by the source, although in some cases I have added the Christian dates to the hiirī ones.

a. Browne, Travels, 280.

Sulaymān about 1645-1665

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<sup>c</sup>Umar

Ahmad Bukr

Abū'l-Qāsim

Muhammad Tayrāb

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmānb. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 73 and Darfūr, 55.

Sulaymān about 1550

⋮

Ahmad Bukr

<sup>c</sup>Umar, son

Abū'l-Qāsim, brother

Muhammad Tayrāb, brother

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, brother

Muhammad al-Fadl, son



c. Cadalvène and Breuvery, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 198-9

Restoration Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr 11852/1448-9  
 Ahmad Buk<sup>c</sup> Rufā<sup>c</sup>a, his son 11877/1472-3  
 Isma<sup>c</sup>ʿil al-Shaw Dorshid, his son 11897/1491-2  
 brother Ibrāhīm al-Dalīl, his 913/1507-8  
 Muhammad brother his nephew 1174/1741-2  
 He persuaded This prince left two sons; Bahr, chief of the dynasty of the  
 to come to chief of the dynasty of the  
 sing peace Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt; Sābūn, chief of the  
 hands. dynasty of the Kunjara. The division  
<sup>c</sup>Umar of Dār Fūr into five great provinces,  
 Abū<sup>c</sup>l-Qāsim which was established by this prince,  
 Tayrāb, still exists today; Dār kabīr  
 al-Hājǰ al-Fāshir, Dār al-Takanyāwī, Dār  
<sup>c</sup>Abd al-R Diima, Dār Uuma and Dār Abbo Shaykh.  
 Muhammad Sābūn, his son 11967/1559-60  
 This prince Idrīs Ja<sup>c</sup>l, his son 11987/1579-80  
 Kuuruu, his son 1000/1591-2

- d. Nachtigal, Sabara Terrindem, his brother 1011/1602-3  
 1. The genealogy of sultan Sol Buute, his brother 1020/1611-2  
 sultan himself. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān Sarraf, 1031/1621-2

Ahmad al- his brother  
 Rufā<sup>c</sup>a Ruusan, his brother 1014/1653-4  
 al-Hājǰ Diatomé, his son 1096/1684-5  
 Ja<sup>c</sup>l Idrī Sulaymān Solongdungoo, 1100/1688-9  
 Kuuruu his nephew  
 Sulaymān Mūsā, his son 1113/1701-2  
 Mūsā Muhammad Dūlat, his 1116/1704-5  
 brother  
 Ahmad Buk<sup>c</sup>  
<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān  
 Muhammad al-Fadl



2. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 360.

Restoration of Mūsā	1119/1707-8
Aḥmad Bukr, son of Mūsā	1128/1715-6
Ismā <sup>c</sup> īl Abū Haranna, his brother	1141/1728-9
Muḥammad Haranna, his nephew	1154/1741-2
He persuaded his son, Mūsā, who had revolted, to come to him under the pretext of discussing peace, but killed him with his own hands.	
<sup>c</sup> Umar	1159/1746-7
Abū <sup>l</sup> -Qāsim, his uncle	1167/1753-4
Tayrāb, his brother	1176/1762-3
al-Hājj Ishāq, his son	1200/1785-6
<sup>c</sup> Abd al-Rahmān, his uncle	1204/1789-90
Muḥammad al-Fadl, his son	1214/1799-1800
This prince still rules today in Dār Fūr.	

d. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 360 and 449

1. The genealogy of sultan Muḥammad al-Fadl, written by the sultan himself. (Sahara und Sudan, iii, 449)

Aḥmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr  
 |  
 Rufā<sup>c</sup>a  
 |  
 al-Hājj Ibrāhīm Dalīl  
 |  
 Ja<sup>c</sup>l Idrīs  
 |  
 Kuuruu  
 |  
 Sulaymān Solongdungoo  
 |  
 Mūsā  
 |  
 Aḥmad Bukr  
 |  
<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān  
 |  
 Muḥammad al-Fadl

It is improbable that  
they ruled



2. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 360.

Sulaymān Solongdūngoo	1596-1637	
Ahmad al-Ma <sup>c</sup> qūr	1637-1682	
Ahmad : Dukr, son	1682-1722	
Shaw Dorshidra, son	1722-32	
Shaw : al, son	1732-39	
Daali-Qāsim, son of Ahmad	1739-52	
Dukr :		
Sābūn	1752-85	
Idrīs Ja <sup>c</sup> l	1785-99	
Muhammad al-Paql, son	1799-1838	
Diatom	1838-73	
Darsud	1873-4	
Tinsam		
Terendim		actually reigned but
Sol Buute		not necessarily in
Saraf		this order
Sālih		
Sikar		
Bahr		doubtful
Bakhīt		
Uuru		
Tir-Salam		
Rum-sham		
Nasr		It is improbable that
Sem-erim		they ruled
Sakersim		
Kuuruu		
Abd al-Hamān		



Sulaymān Solongdungoo	1596-1637
Mūsā, son	1637-1682
Ahmad Bukr, son	1682-1722
Muhammad Dawra, son	1722-32
f. Shuqayr, Ta <sup>c</sup> Umar Lel, son	1732-39
Abū'l-Qāsim, son of Ahmad Bukr	1739-52
Muhammad Tayrāb, brother	1752-85
<sup>c</sup> Abd al-Rahmān, brother	1785-99
Muhammad al-Fadl, son	1799-1838
Muhammad al-Husayn, son	1838-73
Ibrāhīm, son	1873-4
e. Slatin, <u>Fire and Sword</u> , 37-47.	1001/1592-3
Kor, a Daju	1013/1604-5
Ahmad al-Ma <sup>c</sup> qūr	1035/1625-6
son	1048/1638-9
son	1068/1657-8
Daali	1085/1674-5
Sulaymān Solongdungoo	1094/1682-3
Mūsā	1106/1694-5
Ahmad Bukr	1126/1714-5
Muhammad Dawra	1138/1725-6
<sup>c</sup> Umar Lel	1158/1745-6
Abū'l-Qāsim	1175/1761-2
Muhammad Tayrāb	1177/1763-4
<sup>c</sup> Abd al-Rahmān	1181/1767-8



Muhammad al-Faḍl	1201/1786-7
Muhammad al-Husayn	1215/1800-1
Ibrāhīm Kwiko.	1254/1838-9
Ibrāhīm	1290/1873-4

f. Shuqayr, Ta<sup>c</sup>riḥ al-Sūdān, 445.

g. Arkell Papers, file 13, gives several regnal lists from Dār Fūr. I give below two representative versions.

<sup>c</sup> Sulaymān I	848/1444-5
<sup>c</sup> Umar	885/1480-1
1. Ahmad Adan al-Kisān, Arkell Papers, file 13 <sup>c</sup> Abd al-Rahmān	897/1491-2
Mahmūd	916/1510-11
Muhammad Sūl	932/1525-6
Dalīl	957/1550-1
Sharaf	967/1559-60
Ahmad	991/1583-4
Idrīs	1001/1592-3
Sālīh	1013/1604-5
Mansūr	1035/1625-6
Shūsh	1048/1638-9
Nasr	1068/1657-8
Tūm	1085/1674-5
Kuuruu	1094/1682-3
Sulaymān II	1106/1694-5
Mūsā	1126/1714-5
Ahmad Bukr	1138/1725-6
2. Majdhūb Māli, file 13. Muhammad Dawra	1158/1745-6
<sup>c</sup> Umar II	1175/1761-2
Abū ʿl-Qāsim	1177/1763-4
Muhammad Tayrāb	1181/1767-8



<sup>c</sup> Abd al-Rahmān	1201/1786-7
Muhammad al-Fadl	1215/1800-1
Muhammad al-Husayn	1254/1838-9
Ibrāhīm	1290/1873-4

g. Arkell Papers, file 13, gives several regnal lists from Dār Fūr. I give below two representative versions.

1. Ahmad Adam al-Kinānī, Arkell Papers, file 13

Shaw Dorshid  
 Sol Buute  
 Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr  
 Sulaymān Solongdungoo  
<sup>c</sup>Umar  
 Mūsā  
 Muhammad Dawra  
 Ahmad Bukr  
 Abū<sup>2</sup>l-Qāsim  
 Muhammad Tayrāb  
<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān  
 Muhammad al-Fadl  
 Muhammad al-Husayn  
 Ibrāhīm

2. Majdhūb Mālīk, Arkell Papers, file 13.

Ahmad al-Tunjurāwī  
 Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr  
 Rufā<sup>c</sup>a



## chapter III.

C Abd al-Rahmān

## THE EARLY SULTANATE.

Shaw Dorshid

Daali

Sulaymān Solongdungoo and MūsāIdrīs Ja<sup>C</sup>l

Idrīs Sābūn

Bahr, Jadd al-Musabba<sup>C</sup>at

Diram

Nasr Tūjū

Tūm al-Dīn

Tirinām

C Umar Saraf

Sol Buute

Sulaymān Solongdungoo

Muhammad faki

Mūsā Bashār

Ahmad Bukr

Muhammad Dawra

Muhammad Saraf

C Abū'l-Qāsim Dalīl

Muhammad Tayrāb

C Abd al-Rahmān al-Rashīd

Muhammad al-Fadl

Muhammad al-Husayn al-Mansūr

(1) MacMichael, S.N.B., IV/2, 1926, 75-7 and Arkell, S.N.B.,

XX/1, 1937, 91-105.

Hasaballāh

(2) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Mém. 98 and personal observation.

ZAYADIYA ..... tribes

• Kawra ..... places

• Jarjil ..... places



## chapter III.

## The Early Keira Sultanate.

THE EARLY SULTANATE.Sulaymān Solongdūngoo and Mūsā.

From the veneration with which it was regarded in later times, the cradle of the early Keira state appears to have been the Turra region of Jabal Marra; a moderately watered area of sparse farmingland with a good supply of rock salt nearby and virtually inaccessible from the plains below. Here all the sultans of later times, except <sup>c</sup>Umar Lel 1159/1746-7 - 1167/1753-4, who died in captivity in Wadai and Ibrāhīm, who was killed at Manawāshī in 1291/1874 were buried. In this area too are various ruins associated with the early sultans, including the residence of Sulaymān Solongdūngoo, Tong Kiiloo, "house of intercourse between young men and women". (1) The whole Turra area was and is still regarded with particular veneration by the Fur. (2)

In the Turra region, probably during the fifteenth century, there emerged a Fur kingdom under a line of rulers from the Keira clan of the Kunjara section of the Fur. Of the early history of this mountain kingdom, apart from the traditions associated with Ahmad al-

(1) MacMichael, S.N.R., IX/2, 1926, 75-7 and Arkell, S.N.R., XX/1, 1937, 91-105.

(2) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire, 98 and personal observation.

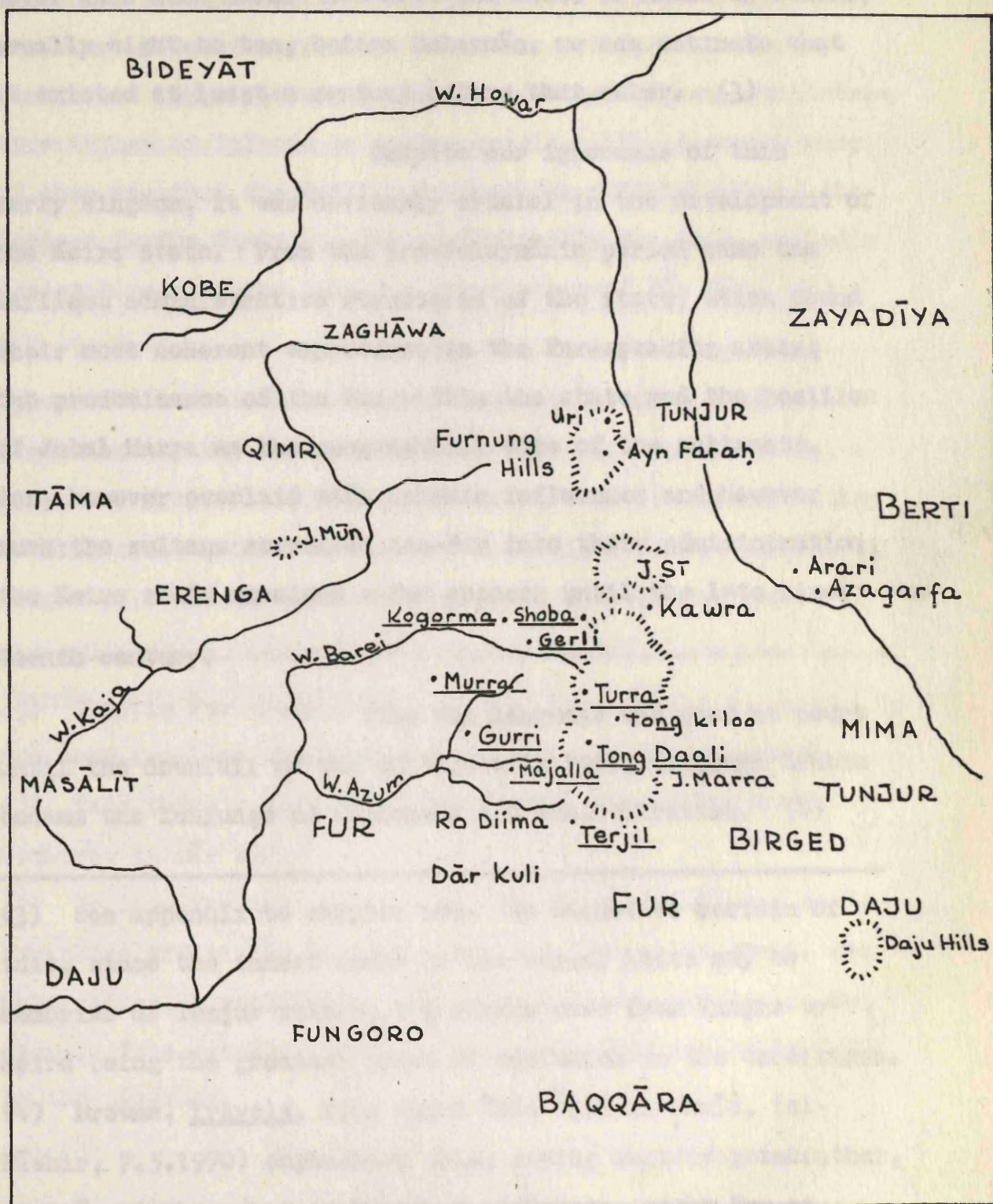
ZAYADĪYA ..... tribes

• Kawra ..... places

• Terjil ..... fāshire



The Early Keira Sultanate.



ZAYADĪYA ..... tribes

• Kawra ..... places

• Terjil ..... fāshirs



Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr, Daali and Kuuruu, we know little and will probably never know much more. But from the lists of names of rulers, usually eight to ten, before Sulaymān, we can estimate that it existed at least a century before that ruler. (3)

Despite our ignorance of this early kingdom, it was obviously crucial in the development of the Keira state. From the pre-Sulaymānic period came the earliest administrative structures of the state, which found their most coherent expression in the Fur-speaking areas; the predominance of the Fur within the state and the position of Jabal Marra as the geographical core of the sultanate. For, however overlaid with Islamic influences and however much the sultans recruited non-Fur into their administration, the Keira state remained a Fur concern until the late nineteenth century.

(5) Thus in Fur areas the Fur language was used at court until the downfall of the sultanate in 1916, although Arabic became the language of diplomacy and administration. (4)

(3) See appendix to chapter two. We cannot be certain of this, since the inert names in the regnal lists may be memories of Tunjur rulers, the change over from Tunjur to Keira being the greatest point of confusion in the traditions.

(4) Browne, Travels, 196; Ahmad Āmīn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hamīd, (al-Fāshir, 7.5.1970) emphasised this, saying that his grandfather, an amīn at the court of Muhammad al-Husayn, spoke Fur at court, although as a Fulani, he spoke Fulani at home.



Although the administration of the non-Fur areas of the sultanate was constantly changing in form and personnel, the structure of administration in the Fur areas remained very stable and largely escaped the introduction of new administrative titles of Islamic or Arabic origin. (5) A consequence of this was that the British Condominium officials found the Western Darfur District, the predominantly Fur area, markedly easier to administer than the other parts of Dār Fūr. (6)

~~Fur peasantry.~~ Equally the title-holding class appears to have been throughout the history of the sultanate predominantly Fur in composition. (7) Although this is, given the fragmentary nature of our information on the title-holding system, difficult to prove statistically, the general weight of evidence seems to show that, despite increased

(5) Thus in Fur areas chiefly titles have tended to remain in the same families throughout the history of the sultanate.

(6) This theme runs through the Condominium administrative measures in Dār Fūr.

(7) In this thesis, I have used the phrase, "title-holder", for those officials, whether administrative or at court, who held titles, hereditary or not, from the rank of shartai and above. This category includes all the titles marked as such in the glossary.

2. Cadalvène and Brevé, *L'Égypte et la Turquie*, II, 198 give 1100/1688-9 - 1113/1701-2.

3. Al-Tūnisī, *Tashhīḥ*, 83-4, *Darfūr*, 66-7, says Sulaymān incorporated a



recruitment of non-Fur in the later sultanate, and with the exception of the slave titles, such as abbo shaykh daali, the majority of the more important titles were held by Fur families. (8) This is not to suggest that the Fur as a tribe dominated the sultanate, except perhaps numerically, or that there was a distinction between the Fur and the other subject tribes of the sultanate or that there was any close identity between the title-holding class and the mass of the Fur peasantry.

4. Nachtigal, Bahara und If to Daali and Kuuruu is attributed the establishment of the laws and customs of the Keira state, to Sulaymān Solongdungoo is attributed the early phase of expansion down from the mountains. It is impossible to give any firm dates for Sulaymān, but the consensus of tradition would place him in the second half of the seventeenth century, probably between 1660 and 1680. (9)

regnal list two sultans called Sulaymān I, 848/

(8) I include in Fur families, the several important Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt title-holding families, who are Fur by genealogy.

(9) I list below the main variants; see also appendix to chapter two.

1. Browne, Travels, 280, says Sulaymān lived some 130 to 150 years before his visit, which would give a date of roughly 1645 to 1665.

2. Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et La Turquie, ii, 198 give 1100/1688-9 - 1113/1701-2.

3. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 83-4, Darfour, 66-7, says Sulaymān



Although we possess no contemporary references to Sulaymān, there are various apparent references to Dār Fūr at the end of the seventeenth century which suggests that the Fur were already dominant and that it was already known in Egypt as a centre of trade.

The first unconfirmed reference is by Michael Johann Vansleb, a Bohemian Dominican, who visited

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(9) contd., lived some two hundred years before his visit.

4. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 365, gives 1596-1637, but gives no evidence for his exact dates and without it, they can be regarded as no more than informed guesses. Since Nachtigal ascribes a very long reign, 1637-1682, to Sulaymān's successor, Mūsā, who is otherwise a very shadowy figure, it is probable that his dates for Sulaymān are too early.
5. Shuqayr, Ta<sup>2</sup>rikh al-Sūdān, 446, 468-9, gives in his regnal list two sultans called Sulaymān; Sulaymān I, 848/1444-5 - 880/1475-6 and Sulaymān II, 1106/1694-5 - 1126/1714-5. Shuqayr, whose main informant was the Imām al-Tayyib of Turra, argues against the view of Slatin that Sulaymān II's father, Kuurruu, was in fact Shaw Dorshid, i.e. that Sulaymān II is Sulaymān Solongdungoo. Further between the two Sulaymāns, Shuqayr gives with dates, the names of fifteen rulers. It would thus seem that Imām al-Tayyib has either added or invented two centuries of sultans to give the Keira dynasty greater antiquity, probably in order to make the link with the Abbāsids through Ahmad al-Ma<sup>c</sup>qūr more plausible, or has incorporated a Tunjur regnal list.



Egypt twice in 1664 and 1772 to 1773. (10) A more valuable and certain reference is in the Historia of Giacomo d'Albano, a contemporary account of the Franciscan missionary efforts in Sinnār and Ethiopia. D'Albano describes the beginning of the journey of a group of Franciscans to Sinnār via the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in, the famous desert caravan route from Egypt to Old Dongola and Dār Fūr; in September 1698 the party of missionaries started from al-Wāh, where,

"in questa valle s'uniscono tutti  
(11) Giacomo d'Albano, Historia della Missione Franciscana  
li Giallabi che vanno al Ponente,  
in Alto-Egitto-Fungi-Etiosi, 1720, ed. G. Giamberardini,  
cioè nel Regno di Fur ed altre  
Cairo 1961, 47.

province, come anche li Giallabi  
(12) An earlier reference may be, Relazione della cose che

ha possuto veder frat'Arcangelo (1691) da Pistoia Minor  
(10) On Vansleb's alleged reference to Dār Fūr, see Arkell,  
Osservante Missionario nell'Egitto dal 1630 fin'al 1638", in  
S.N.R., XXXII/1, 52, quoting A. Petermann and B. Hassenstein,  
ed. G. Lumbruso, "Ritocchi alla carta di Descripttori italiani  
"Innerafrika nach dem stande der geographischen kenntniss in  
den jahren 1861-1863, Petermanns Mittheilungen, XI, 1863,  
supplement, who say that the first mention of the Fur (Fohr)  
is in Vansleb's account of his visit to Egypt in 1664, but  
reference to trade from Egypt to the Fur is "per andare per  
the work they refer to, J.M. Vansleb, Nouvelle Relation  
li paesi de Negri dove si tratta di commercio", l'altro per  
d'Égypte, Paris 1677, is an account of his second visit to  
andar nel paese detto i Wāh, che è un gratulato to J.L.  
Egypt in 1672-3 and appears to contain no reference to Dār  
Spaulding for this reference. Carradori lived for a number  
Fūr. His account of his first trip was published as —  
of years in Upper Egypt, he called an Italian-Nubian dic-  
Relazione dello Stato Presente dell'Egitto, Paris 1671, and  
tionary, see K.V. Zetter, "The oldest dictionary of the  
later in Sammlung der Merwurdigsten Reisen in dem Orient,  
Nubian language", Bonn, 1880, 227-30. The  
Jena 1792-1803, but I have been unable to trace either work.  
Franciscan Archives at Cairo, no doubt contain much more

on Upper Egypt and the Sudan, dating back to the fourteenth  
century.



with Upper Egypt. Dār Fūr is mentioned in the Arabic sources as the starting point of this early expansion with the regno di Fungi, Dongola, Sennar ed Etiopia". (11)

The Franciscan reference suggests that trade between Dār Fūr and Upper Egypt was already well established by 1698, although we have no actual earlier references to Dār Fūr. (12) All that we can deduce is that by the end of the seventeenth century Dār Fūr was known to the outside world and traded as having introduced Islam as the state cult and this

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(11) Giacomo d'Albano, Historia della Missione Francescana in Alto-Egitto-Fungi-Etiopia, 1686-1720, ed. G. Giamberardini, Cairo 1961, 47.

(12) An earlier reference may be, "Relatione della cose che hà possuto veder frat'Arcangelo (Carradori) da Pistoia Minor Osservante Missionario nell'Egitto dal 1630 fin'al 1638", in ed. G. Lumbroso, "Ritocchi ed Aggiunte ai Descrittori italiani dall'Egitto e di Alessandira", Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie 4a, X, parte 1a, 1892, 195-252, where there is a reference to trade from Jirja in Upper Egypt, "per andare per li paesi de Negri dove si fanno schiavi l'un l'altro per andar nel paese detto l'Vaa (al-Wāh)." I am grateful to J.L. Spaulding for this reference. Carradori lived for a number of years in Upper Egypt and compiled an Italian-Nubian dictionary, see K.V. Zettersteen, "The oldest dictionary of the Nubian language", Monde Orientale, I, 1960, 227-40. The Franciscan Archives at Giza, Cairo, no doubt contain much more on Upper Egypt and the Sudan, dating back to the fourteenth century.



with Upper Egypt. Dār Fūr tradition appears to associate this early expansion with Sulaymān Solongdungoo.<sup>13</sup>, usually

passing through the country. Sulaymān was undoubtedly an historical figure, but Dār Fūr tradition preserves little memory of his acts beyond vague generalities. At the end of the seventeenth century, perhaps during Sulaymān's reign, we can discern certain trends within the state. Sulaymān is described as having introduced Islam as the state cult and this tradition is associated with his description as part-Arab, which may well have been the case. (13) It is difficult to determine what this statement means. Pre-Islamic religious traditions and beliefs continued to be expressed in the ritual of the state throughout its history although the evidence suggests that with the increasing Islamisation and sophistication of the state some customs were allowed to die out.

Sulaymān is described as building mosques for his subjects and in general encouraging Islamic practices. (14) He also possibly initiated or continued a practice which has perhaps contributed more to the spread of

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(13) Solongdungoo, pl. Solonga means Arab in Fur; it may have had the original meaning "redman". See d'Escayrac de Lauture, *Mémoire*, 79; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, iii, 365 and Shuqayr, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, 444.

(14) Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, iii, 365 and Shuqayr, 1969, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, 444.

(16) *hawākīr* granted to *Agarā*<sup>2</sup> were known as *hawākīr al-īsh*, and differed from other *hawākīr* in other respects.



Islam in Dār Fūr than any other, namely the custom whereby the sultan would invite Muslim fugarā<sup>2</sup> and ʿulamā<sup>2</sup>, usually passing through the country on their way to or from the pilgrimage (ḥajj), to settle in the sultanate and granting them land, exempt from certain taxes, on condition that they teach religion. This practice was widespread in the Sudanic states, examples of such grants coming from Songhai, Bornu and the Sinnār sultanate. (15) Such grants in Dār Fūr could be of a group of villages or the land of a tribal section and were de facto hereditary, although the grantees took care to get confirmation in writing from succeeding sultans. They were known as hawākīr in Arabic (singular, ḥākūra) and ro in Fur (plural, rota) and were exempt from all taxes save the customary Islamic ones. (16) Such hawākīr, often of very considerable size, were granted to fugarā<sup>2</sup>

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(15) J.S. Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, London 1962, 110, giving references for Songhai and Bornu, "these (i.e. Muslim clerics in Bornu) were welcomed and many were granted mahrāms or "letters of hereditary privilege" in recompense for services rendered. They state that X and his descendants are ḥarīm, "set apart" or "privileged" that is, exempted from taxes, military services, hospitality charges and the like." Examples from the Sinnār sultanate can be seen in Muhammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Al-Funī waʿl-ard, Wathāʾiq tamlik, Khartoum 1967 and P.M. Holt, S.N.R., L. 1969, 2-14. only; see MacMichael, Northern and Central Sudan, 76-84.

(16) Hawākīr granted to fugarā<sup>2</sup> were known as hawākīr al-lāh, and differed from other hawākīr in other respects.



throughout the history of the Keira state and laid the foundations of the wealth and political influence of such families. It must be realised that the granting of hawākīr to holy men was only part of the wider system of such grants to court and administrative title-holders.

Although no letters of grant have survived from Sulaymān, several fugarā<sup>2</sup> families in Dār Fūr have traditions of such grants. (17) One such is the Jawāmi<sup>c</sup>a fugarā<sup>2</sup> family of Azagarfa, north of al-Fāshir, whose ancestor, Hāmid b. <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī, came from the east and was settled in Dār Fūr by Sulaymān. Later they moved to Azagarfa where sultan Muhammad al-Fadl, 1215/1800-1 - 1254/1838-9, built them a mosque which still stands. (18) Near to Azagarfa, at Arārī is another Jawāmi<sup>c</sup>a fugarā<sup>2</sup> family who trace themselves back through twelve generations to one

(17) The earliest letter concerning hawākīr I have seen came from sultan Abu'l-Qāsim, 1167/1753-4 - 1176/1761-2; apart from an example reproduced in al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 68-9,

Darfūr, 50-1, of such a grant to his father, no example of an hakūrat al-īāh from Dār Fūr has yet been published. Of the seventy or so documents I photographed in Dār Fūr, twenty refer to hawākīr al-īāh.

(18) Mudīrīya, (open) DP. 66. b. 28, note by Keen, 17.11.1930. The name, Jawāmi<sup>c</sup>a, derived from īāmī<sup>c</sup>a, "mosque", in this case and in the following appears more descriptive than genealogical; see MacMichael, Nothern and Central Kordofan, 76-84.



Ahmad, who it is said, was given land at Arāri by Shaw Dorshid, the grant later being confirmed by Sulaymān. (19)

Another important Jawāmi<sup>C</sup>a family who came either in Sulaymān's time or that of his son, Mūsā, are the Imāms of Turra. Their ancestor, Idrīs, was granted land at Turra as Imām of the mosque there with responsibility for the royal burial ground and the position and land has been in the family ever since. (20)

In some ways Sulaymān's reign must have marked a series of upheavals within the Keira clan, for from it dates the group called Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt. (21) The term, Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, appears to be descriptive rather than tribal, denoting various Keira groups and their adherents who were forced out of the Keira state and who settled in eastern Dār

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(19) Mudiriya, DP. 66. K. 1/31, Arari dimligia; note, Aglen, 22.6.1948. There are extensive ruins at Arāri which suggests it was an important place once.

(20) MacMichael, History, i, 198. The Imām al-Tayyib, Shuqayr's informant, came from this family; Ta<sup>2</sup>rīkh al-Sūdān, 469, with a photograph, 467.

(21) MacMichael, Northern and Central Kordofan, 7; the etymology of Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt from sabāh, "morning, east", was supported by informants in Dār Fūr. For a general collection of Dār Fūr Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt traditions, see Adam al-Zayn, Al-Turāth al-sha<sup>C</sup>bī li-qābilat al-Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, Khartoum 1970. In Fur the Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt are called Musabanga or Musaba.



Fūr and Kordofan. Nachtigal's version of the tradition held describes how Tunsam b. Bahr, a Keira, drove Knurruu out of Jabal Marra. Sulaymān, the son of Knurruu, was taken for refuge to Dār Masālīt, the home of his mother's people. When he grew up he returned to Jabal Marra and drove out Tunsam who fled eastwards. (22) From that time on relations between the Keira and the Musabba<sup>Cāt</sup>, hostile and peaceful, run as a constant theme through Dār Fūr history and the close connection between the two peoples was always recognised. The Musabba<sup>Cāt</sup> never forgot their "imperial pretensions" and in the reign of Sulaymān's son and successor, Mūsā, the Musabba<sup>Cāwī</sup> Janqal b. Bahr attacked Dār Fūr but was driven out and took refuge in western Kordofan. (23)

But not all the Musabba<sup>Cāt</sup>, despite the apparent etymology of their name, went east; many stayed and the Musaba or Masabanga are to be found scattered among

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(22) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 363-4; Cadalvene and Breuvery, L'Egypte et la Turquie, ii, 201-2 give a slightly different version. Al-Tūnisi, Tashhīdh, 83-4, Darfour, 66-7 and Quaday, 73, seems a later synthetic tradition. Bahr appears in virtually all the oral accounts as Iadd al-Musabba<sup>Cāt</sup>, "grandfather of the Musabba<sup>Cāt</sup>", while Tunsam was later arabicised to Tumsāh, "crocodile"; see MacMichael, Northern and Central Kordofan, 55-6 and History, ii, 154-5.

(23) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 366 and Cadalvene and Breuvery, L'Egypte et la Turquie, ii, 202. For Janqal's later career, see O'Fahey and Spaulding, "Hāshim and the Musabba<sup>Cāt</sup>."

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(forthcoming.)



the Fur west of Jabal Marra. Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt families have held land in Dār Kerne as chiefs for nine or ten generations, while the family of Ahmad Tumbukei, who held the title abba jabbay for most of the nineteenth century, were Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt and claimed descent from Tunsam b. Bahr. (24)

Sulaymān is described also as a conqueror and soldier, but we know next to nothing of the nature and extent of his conquests. (25) Nachtigal records that Sulaymān led thirty-three campaigns, that he conquered some sections of the Masālīt, as well as the Oro, Birged, Zaghāwa, Mararīt, Beigo and Tunjur. He is said to have extended the frontiers of the sultanate as far north as the Bideyāt. (26) Whatever the extent of his conquests we may perhaps speculate on his motive; a desire to increase his catchment area for the trade items, pre-eminently slaves, he could barter with the jallāba from Upper Egypt and the

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(24) Mudīrīya, Western District Handbook; note on the dim-geliga of Kebe (Dār Kerne), Beaton, 7.3.1938, referring to the ruling families of the rota of Kwia and Kebe.

(25) Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 444-5, purports to give a list of the tribes Sulaymān conquered and incorporated into his state; the list is hopelessly anachronistic.

(26) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 365, who also records the tradition that Sulaymān extended the boundaries of his kingdom to the east as far as the Atbara river beyond the Nile. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 265-6.



Nilotic Sudan for arms and armour, horses from Old Dongola and fine cloth, with which to reward, arm and encourage his followers and title-holders. But again we have no firm evidence. <sup>called in the Tabaqāt Malik Kuniḡra, who gave him fifty camels.</sup> But Muḡammad al-Sulaymān was probably succeeded by his son, Mūsā, the most shadowy of the post-Sulaymānic sultans. The confusion of the regnal lists at this point probably reflects a confused reign, while the lack of traditions about Mūsā suggests a short one. (27) Nachtigal records traditions of Mūsā fighting the Qimr unsuccessfully and the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt successfully, the latter being defeated in two battles at Tinna and Kolge near Jabal Marra. Mūsā was buried at Turra, as was his father. (28)

We have two tantalising references from about this period which both suggest a measure of Fur involvement with the Nilotic Sudan. It is recorded in the Tabaqāt, the collection of biographies of holy men by Wad Dayfallāh, that the noted fakī Muḡammad al-Qaddāl took refuge in the Sudan. Khartoum 1929, 23 and MacMichael, History, II, 248.

(27) Again we have no contemporary references or documents; Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, II, 198, 1113/1701-2 - 1116/1704-5; although they cannot be substantiated in any way, the dates in Cadalvène and Breuvéry appear to me the most likely; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 365, 1637-1682, which seems too long, and Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 445, 1126/1714-5 - 1138/1725-6, which seems too late.

(28) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 265-6. <sup>from the time of the Arabs</sup> seems an unlikely description of that region so early.



with his pupil, Muhammad Jawdatallāh in Kordofan during the year called in Nilotic Sudanese tradition, Umm Lahm, a year of famine, 1095/1683-4. There he was entertained by a certain ruler, called in the Tabaqāt malik Kuniāra, who gave him fifty camels. But Muhammad al-Qaddāl was brought back to Umm Talha by the Funj ruler, Unsa b. Nāsir, 1092/1681 - 1103/1692, who was unwilling for so reputed a holy man to live under the rule of the malik Kuniāra, who was in fact probably a Musabba<sup>C</sup>awī leader in Kordofan. (29)

In April 1706 another Franciscan missionary, the Capuchin brother Giustino, was held up at Old Dongola on his way to Sinnār by a civil war between two brothers over the succession at Old Dongola. One of the brothers had brought, no doubt as mercenaries, a party of men from Dār Fūr to support him against his brother. (30)

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(29) Ed. Ibrāhīm Sidayq, Wad Dayfallāh, Kitāb al-tabaqāt fī khusūs al-awliyā<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>3</sup>l-salihīn wa<sup>3</sup>l-<sup>C</sup>ulamā<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>3</sup>l-shu<sup>C</sup>arā<sup>3</sup> fī<sup>3</sup>l-Sūdān, Khartoum 1929, 23 and MacMichael, History, 11, 248.

(30) D'Albano, Historia, 120, "Ma perche in quelle parti vi erano ribellioni d'un Re nuovo, fra(te)llo del vecchio, il q(ua)le con grandissima quantità di barbari era venuto da Fur per deponere il fra(te)llo e farsi lui Re, havendo questo serrati li passi, non essendo possibile prosequire il suo viaggio ne lui ne alcuno delli Giallabi tutti furono tratti in Dongola". "Barbari" could of course refer to Arabs from northern Kordofan or the Bayūda, but "Fur" seems an unlikely description of that region so early.



Ahmad Bukr and the Expansion of the Sultanate.

One such, probably Ahmad Bukr b. Mūsā is the first Keira sultan, whose reign can be roughly reconstructed and with whom particular events and places are associated. (31) He was said to have been the youngest of Mūsā's eight sons, and, in fact, it was the eldest, Giggeri, who was first installed as sultan. But Giggeri, on the first day of his reign, had an epileptic seizure, and since it was not possible for one "possessed by the devil" to be sultan, he was replaced by Ahmad Bukr. (32) We know nothing further on how Ahmad Bukr became sultan.

Bukr's reign marked another stage in the growth of Islamic influence in the Keira state; a process which the sultan is described as actively encouraging, by building mosques and Qur'ānic schools and compelling his subjects to observe the Islamic religious precepts. (33) The sultan, like Sulaymān, further encouraged the spread of

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(31) All dates for Ahmad Bukr must remain guesses, since we have neither documents nor contemporary references. Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 198, give 1128/1715-6 - 1141/1728-9, which seems the most likely. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 366, gives 1682-1722 and Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 446, 1138/1725-6 - 1158/1745-6, which seems too late.

(32) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 366.

(33) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 367 and d'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire, 79.



Islam by inviting fugarā<sup>o</sup> and ʿulamā<sup>o</sup> to visit and teach in Dār Fūr. One such, probably in the time of Bukr, was Abū Zayd al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir, a pupil of al-Zayn b. al-shaykh Sughayrūn, who died in 1086/1675-6. Abū Zayd travelled in Dār Fūr and Wadai, when Yaʿqūb was sultan in the latter country. (34) It was perhaps one of these migrant scholars who taught the sultan to write, since Ahmad Bukr is described as the first Keira sultan to be able to do so. (35)

(36) Bukr's main concern A process that was probably continuous throughout the period of the Keira sultanate was the migration of peoples from the western Sudanic region and the Nilotic Sudan through and into Dār Fūr. This is largely undocumented, but at certain times it was fostered by the sultans for various reasons. They may have been prompted by a desire for checks over the title-holders and for military support which did not have complicating tribal affiliations. Undoubtedly religion was not the only motive for granting hawākīr to holy men, such people newly established by the sultan's favour, could provide a new local focus of loyalty, breaking down the old clan and tribal loyalties. Such a process kept repeating itself since the immigrants would  
 Papers, file 16, folios 23-31.

(37) See above 79

(38) Although today the majority of the Fūr are to be found (34) Wad Dayfallāh, Tabaqāt, 18 and 34 and MacMichael, History, 11, 229 and 372. Yaʿqūb is almost certainly sultan Yaʿqūb ʿArūs b. Kharūt, a contemporary of Bukr.

(35) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 368.

(39) See glossary.



either assimilate their newly-acquired followers or identify with them. (36) Bukr is said to have encouraged the immigration and settlement of groups from Bornu and Baqirmi as well as from the Nile. Thus Manawāshī, as we have seen, became an important centre for the Bornu people. (37)

The centre of gravity of the sultanate would still appear to be the Fur homeland, Jabal Marra and the land immediately to the west of the mountains.

(38) Bukr's main concerns appear to have been in that area in that he campaigned against Dār Qimr and Wadai and his fashirs were in the west. (39) They were successively at Gurri in Dār Kerne immediately to the west of Jabal Marra, Murra in Dār Fia, further to the north, and perhaps as an inaccessible refuge Jabal Abū <sup>c</sup>Asal in Jabal Marra itself. There still stands at Jabal Abū <sup>c</sup>Asal a small rectangular ihād or holy war against the Fur, which was completely

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(36) An example of one aspect of this process is the genealogy written for Dr. Arkell by shartai Mahdī Sabīl Abū Kudūk of the Berti, "I am shartai Mahdī Sabīl Abū Kudūk, by origin (nisbatī) an Arab from the Kināna, my tribe (qabīlatī) is Baqirmi and I and my people are now known as Berti", Arkell Papers, file 16, folios 23-31.

(37) See above 79

(38) Although today the majority of the Fur are to be found on the Wādī's Azum and Barei, there is considerable evidence from place-names and genealogies that this is a comparatively recent development; personal communication, Häland.

(39) See glossary.



building of red brick, which is ascribed by local tradition to Bukr. (40) and establishing himself in the Wadai area, preached Islam to the people. Early in Bukr's reign Dār Fūr was invaded by Wadai. The origin and subsequent history of Wadai are in some ways parallel to that of Dār Fūr. The Wadai sultanate is said to have been founded by an Arab from the east, most commonly called 'Abd al-Karīm b. Jāmi'. According to Barth, 'Abd al-Karīm's grandfather, Woda, was a Ja'ali, who came from Shandī on the Nile in the days when the Tunjur still ruled in Wadai. (41) His grandson, who was governor of certain provinces under the last Tunjur king, Da'ūd, came under the influence of a Fulani fugarā family who lived at Bidderi near Massenya, the capital of the neighbouring sultanate to the south-west, Baqirmi. After some years of religious propaganda, 'Abd al-Karīm rose in revolt and led a jihād or holy war against the Tunjur, which was completely successful. He established a new dynasty with its capital at Wārā, which was moved in 1850 to Abeshe, much closer to Dār Fūr by the sultan Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf. (42)

Al-Tūnisī, who spent a year in Wadai after his long stay in Dār Fūr, was told a slightly

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(40) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 366 and Arkell, S.N.R., XX/1, 1937, 103-4.

(41) Barth, Travels and Discoveries, iii, 528.

(42) On Wadai see Carbou, Région du Tchad, 105-272 and M.J. Tubiana, "Un document inédit sur les sultans du Waddai", Cahiers d'études Africaines, II, 1960, 49-112.



different story. An <sup>C</sup>Abbāsī refugee, named Sālīh, came from Egypt via Sinnār and establishing himself in the Wadai area, preached Islam to the pagans. With the success of his religious teaching, he turned from missionary to ruler. As proof of this <sup>C</sup>Abbāsī claim, al-Tūnisī was shown the sultan's seal inscribed with the words, "Sultan Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Karīm, son of Sultan Sālīh al-<sup>C</sup>Abbāsī. (43)

The chronology of early Wadai is as confused as that of Dār Fūr; the date of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Karīm is variously given. Barth says he came to power in 1611, Nachtigal that he ruled from 1635 to 1653, both of which dates would make him roughly an earlier contemporary of Sulaymān. (44)

At the beginning of the eighteenth century both Wadai and Dār Fūr were vigorous expansionist states, but at least initially Dār Fūr seems to have been the senior state. However the trend of the following half century was for Dār Fūr to be pushed eastwards, there to compensate itself in Kordofan at the expense of the Funj, Ghudiyāt and Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, and Wadai to dispute with Dār Fūr over the

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(43) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 70-1; on a Wadai sultanic document dated 1319/1901-2 that I collected in Dār Fūr, the sultan was described as, "al-sultān Ahmad al-Ghazālī b. al-sultān Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Alī b. al-sultān Muhammad Sharīf al-<sup>C</sup>Abbāsī".

(44) Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 358 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 271-2.



border states in the east, parts of Dār Qimr, Dār Tāma, the Daju state of Dār Sīla and perhaps part of Dār Masālīt, and in the west to interfere in the affairs of Baqirmi.

At first tradition claims Wadai continued to pay the tribute to the Keira sultans that had been paid to the Tunjur, namely one beautiful virgin a year.

(45) Then, however, Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb <sup>c</sup>Arūs b. Kharūt, the third sultan after <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Karīm, refused to continue to pay the tribute and invaded Dār Fūr. There is some doubt as to whether the invasion took place in the reign of sultan Mūsā or Ahmad Bukr.

It seems probable that there were two invasions by Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb <sup>c</sup>Arūs, the first in Mūsā's reign, when the Wadaians reached as far as Gerli, on the western slopes of Jabal Marra, where the Keira fāshir was at the time. Dissension in the Wadai army put an end to the invasion and Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb was forced to return to his own country. (46)

The second invasion of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb probably occurred in the early years of Bukr's reign. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb reached as far as Kabkābiya, a point of considerable strategic importance since it was situated near the western Fūr by Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb's successor, Kharūt b. Kharūt.

(45) For the differing versions, see Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 353; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 367 and Carbou, Région du Tchad, 11, 112.

(46) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 83 and Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 529.

See also Michael, Das Sudan, 111, 367 and Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 529 and History, 1, 3-5 and Abu Sina, Mushakira, 70-1, who gives a list of the Qimr sultans.



end of the Kawra pass, the main route through Jabal Marza from west to east. Meanwhile Bukr, who had retreated to Jabal Abū <sup>c</sup>Asal, brought in arms and firearms from Egypt and made an alliance with Baqirmi. (47) After two years, Ahmad Bukr came down from the mountains and drove the Wadai army out of Kabkābiya and Dār Fūr. (48)

Ahmad Bukr's successful war against Wadai seems to have been followed by wider Keira penetration westwards and northwards. He conquered Dār Qimr, a small but ancient state north of Dār Masālīt and east of Dār Tāma, against which Mūsā is said to have warred unsuccessfully. The Qimr ruling group, the Miggi, claim to be of Ja<sup>c</sup>ālī origin from al-Matamma; their ancestor, Qimr Hasaballāh, having led a group of Ja<sup>c</sup>aliyīn and Arabs, the latter from the Korōbāt, Sa<sup>c</sup>āda, Hōtiya and Tarjam, to the area and set up a state around Jabal Nokat, now in Dār Tāma. (49) The

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(47) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 367; this appears to be the first reference to the use of firearms in Dār Fūr. The Wadai Chronicle of <sup>c</sup>Uthmān b. Fūdī does not mention the campaigns of Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb describing only a successful invasion of Dār Fūr by Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb's successor, Kharūt Saghīr; Tubiana, Cahiers d'études africaines, II, 1960, 72.

(48) The name Kabkābiya is said to commemorate this victory, since in Fur it means, "shields threw down", kebi kebbia.

(49) Mudiriya, DP. 1. D. 3.5.; note on Dār Qimr by E.A.V. de Candole; MacMichael, Darfur 1915, U.K. Library, typescript, 56-3 and History, I, 34-5 and Abū Sinn, Mudhakira, 70-1, who gives a list of the Qimr sultans.



Qimr rulers seems to have extended their power quite considerably over the Zaghāwa nomads to the north and east and the Milēri of Jabal Mūn to the south. (50) Ahmad Bukr in a series of campaigns in which his son, Muhammad Dawra, is said to have played a prominent part, finally conquered most of Dār Qimr and incorporated it into the Keira state, but under its own sultans, and it stayed in the empire, with various interruptions, until 1916. (51)

The conquest of Dār Qimr was probably of considerable strategic importance, in that it opened the way to Keira penetration into Dār Zaghāwa. We do not know when the earliest contacts between Keira and Zaghāwa began, but we can speculate on the former's motives in wishing to control or win over the latter. The Zaghāwa lay across the southern end of the darb al-arba<sup>6</sup> from Egypt and because of the harshness and poverty of their country they were, as they still are, continually moving south in search of better pasture and thus constantly causing trouble with the settled people of central Dār Fūr. (52)

There is some evidence that the Keira expansion northwards coincided with the coalescing of the Zaghāwa into territorial and chiefly units. The Keira

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(50) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 367 and Hasan and O'Fahey, S.N.R., I, 1970, 152-61.

(51) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire, 98 and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 136 and Darfūr, 127.

(52) Browne, Travels, 205 and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 54 and Darfūr, 35.



moved north into this situation and attempted to turn it to their advantage by marriage alliances and by supporting one chiefly faction against another; they made no attempt to administer Dār Zaghāwa directly but ruled through a constantly changing hierarchy of Zaghāwa chiefs. Thus it was probably Ahmad Bukr who first gave the nubās (the copper kettle-drum) to the sixth chief of Zaghāwa Kobe, Tā b. Kwōre, instead of the wooden drum, dinger. He also seems to have married into the Zaghāwa Kobe ruling clan, the Angu, since his son, sultan Muhammad Tayrāb, was nephew to Kharūt b. Hilān, ninth Kobe sultan. (53) Each year, after the rains, a caravan left Dār Zaghāwa Kobe for Dār Fūr taking as tribute, horses, cattle and sheep; in return, the Keira sultan sent gifts of horses and clothes. (54) Bukr also made alliances with various chiefs from the family of al-Hājj Muhammad al-Burnūwī, a Bornu fakī, who was the reputed ancestor of the awlād Digayn, awlād Dawra and Agaba Zaghāwa. He also confirmed the chief-tancy of Dār Galla on the Genigergera Zaghāwa. (55)

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(53) Tubiana, Survivances, 26; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 375 and Arkell Papers, file 21, note of a conversation with malik Muhammadayn Adam Sebbi, 1.2.1937.

(54) Tubiana, Survivances, 32.

(55) On Muhammad al-Burnūwī, see above, 80. Arkell Papers, file 21, Mudīriya, DP. 66. B. 6. vol. II, Darfur province. Tribal affairs; general, Zaghāwa; interviews, Sharīf Muhammadayn Adam and Sālīh 'Abdallāh Ahmad, Kutum June 1970.



associated with certain . There was however some Zaghāwa resistance; Muhammad Fā<sup>c</sup>it of the awlād Muhammad al-Burnūwī and the most influential chief of the time among the Zaghāwa of Dār Galla, Tuar and Artag, rebelled against Bukr. He was eventually defeated and killed by Bukr's successor, sultan Muhammad Dawra, who permanently weakened the Agaba Zaghāwa, to whom Muhammad Fā<sup>c</sup>it belonged, by cutting off Dār Beiri and the Anka wells and giving them to the Kaitinga shartais of Dār Beiri. (56) Another Zaghāwa chief, Ubayd (or <sup>c</sup>Ubayd), chose flight and led a section of the awlād Dawra to Kajmar in northern Kordofan, where their descendants still live. (57)

~~al-rih. This tradition~~ It was probably as a result of Bukr's expansion north that the title-holder, takanāwī, emerged as governor of most of northern Dār Fūr and in particular of the Zaghāwa. (58) The origin of the title is very obscure; it may be connected with the Daju, togoinvi, a title

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(56) Arkell Papers, file 21, and see figure 6.

(57) Arkell Papers, file 21, and MacMichael, Northern and Central Kordofan, 109-12.

(58) The history of the title and its holders is very obscure, probably because it was later superseded by a line of powerful maqdūms in northern Dār Fūr, and I was able to discover little new in Dār Fūr. Al-Tūnisī writes the title as al-takanvāwī, التكنياوي, but it appears in one of the sultanic documents I collected as al-Takanāwī, التكاناوي, which seems to be closer to the Fur, abbo toron.



associated with certain ritual experts, since tozon has a similar meaning in Fur. (59) Equally it may be connected with the Zaghāwa Kobe title, takanvon, which is said to have been given by the founder of the Zaghāwa Kobe state, <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī Bōru, to the chief of the clan he dispossessed, the Mira. (60)

Ahmad Bukr is said to have quarrelled with his takanāwī, who at that time held a position at court, and had him executed. He then appointed one of the dead man's sons as governor of the north with the same title; the northern province became known as dār al-takanāwī or dār al-rīh. This tradition is perhaps an indication of the ad hoc way the administrative system of the state grew in the non-Fur areas. The original takanāwī is supposed to have

(59) Arkell, S.N.R., XXXII/1, 1952, 68-9; P.J. Sandison, Fur-English Vocabulary, U.K. library, typescript, gives togoing, (pl. togoinga), "master of customs (aadinga)".

(60) Tubiana, Survivances, 32; since <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī Bōru is described as the son of Ahmad al-Daj, ancestor of the Daju rulers, tozon and takanvon may be connected. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 182 and Darfour, 173, translates the title as "the left arm (of the sultan)"; this is not Fur, but it may be that in this and other cases, al-Tūnisī's translations of titles as meaning different parts of the sultan's body is a metaphorical description of their relative importance.

holders, although I suspect it had considerable ritual importance.



come from the powerful Fur section, called konyunga, various members of whom held a variety of titles at different times, abbo konyunga, malik al-nuhās, abbo soming dogala and abbo fore and who in the nineteenth century provided several maqdūms in southern Dār Fūr. (61) The takanāwī or takanyāwī was also described as the ruler of the Zaghāwa, malik al-zaghāwa, and of the other northern shartais. (62)

Two other titles appear to date from the time of Ahmad Bukr or before, aba uumang or uumo and aba diimang. Aba uumang was the title, hereditary in the baldanga or sominga Fur sections, of the governor of the mainly Fur area south-east of Jabal Marra and of parts of Jabal Marra itself. (63) The aba uumang and his followers,

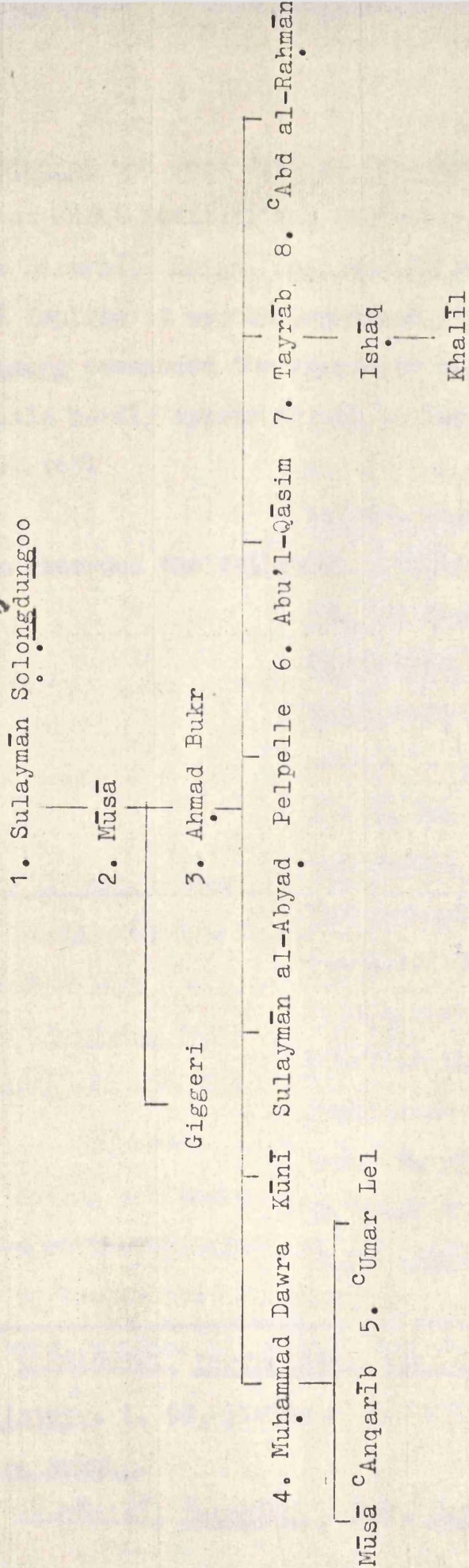
(61) Arkell Papers, file 21 and see glossary. The Konyunga live today between Fatabarnu and Kurma, north of al-Fāshir.

(62) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 143 and Darfour, 132.

(63) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 413 and Beaton, S.N.R., XXIX/1, 1948, 9, where he defines the title as "steward of the mountain". Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 150-1, Darfour, 173, translates the title as "the vertebrae bones of the sultan" and MacMichael, History, i, 98 as "left hand"; it means neither in Fur, but Beaton, Mudīriya, Western District Handbook, suggests that uumo means "fontanelle". The last aba uumang, Hasaballāh b. Sulaymān, died at Jabal Kedingir in 1966, and I was able to collect little on the title or its holders, although I suspect it had considerable ritual importance.



The Keira Sultans of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.





the umanga, who were divided into several sections, usually lived at Jabal Kedingir and in theory ruled parts of the lands of the Rizaygāt, Beigo, Daju and Birged. (64) Although al-Tūnisi implies it was an important title and says that the aba umang commanded the rearguard of the army, the holders of the title hardly appear at all in the history of the Keira state. (65)

We know more about the aba diimang;

Beaton recorded the following tradition, "In the days before the spread of Islam among the Fur, one Ahmed the Bornu came from the west and was detained in Darfur at the bidding of the Sultan either on his way to or his return from the pilgrimage. The reasons for his detention are twofold. He was in possession of rain powers which he brought with him from the west and was also recognised as a learned and holy

man. He was asked to stay in order to teach the sons of the Sultan. (66) Beaton and Cooke, *S.N.B.*, XIII/2, 1939, 199-200 and remarks on the etymology of the title. I was told the same story by the present aba diimang, Sise Muhammad Atin, who also

(64) MacMichael, Darfur 1915, U.K. Library, typescript, 71 and History, 1, 98, giving a list of the Fur sections under the aba umang.

(65) Al-Tūnisi, Tashhidh, 150-1, Darfur, 173.



The Aba Dimangs.

Ahmad al-Burnūwī = sister of Keir

Keir, from which are derived the present titles of two of the most important Fur clans, the Kunjara and the Keira. In the course of time Ahmed married the sister of Keir and years later Keir chanced one day to shave the head of their son, Adim Morge. He exclaimed as he finished "Lo, I have shaved the head of the son of my sister, and will make him head over twelve shartais", whereupon he appointed him Aba Dimang with control over the lowland Dars of the Fur." (66)

Muhammad moved to Zalingei in 1908.

The aba diimangs appear to have played little part in the wider history of the Keira state, ruling, as they still do, as Fur chiefs over the predominantly Fur area south-west of Jabal Marra. Rō diima (Arabic, dār dīma) was divided into twelve shartavāt and the whole administrative system seems to have

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(66) Beaton and Cooke, S.N.R., XXII/2, 1939, 199-200 and remarks on the etymology of the title. I was told the same story by the present aba diimang, Sise Muhammad Atīm, who also remembered part of his nisba, see Belowe 121.



The Aba Diimanga.

Ahmad al-Burnūwī = sister of Keir

Adim Morge

<sup>c</sup>Isa

aba diimang at Dugo.

Rashīd

at Oda.

Tayrāb

at Oda.

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān at Kobara

Atīm

at Kobara

Muhammad

moved to Zalingei in  
1908.

Sise

aba diimang at  
Zalingei since 1938.



been remarkably stable in comparison with other parts of the sultanate. (67)

Nachtigal records two traditions of the later years of Ahmad Bukr's reign. (68) Giggeri, Bukr's elder brother who had been passed over because he suffered from epilepsy, seized power from his brother. Bukr is said to have withdrawn south to Kuli in ro diima, armed his slaves, and returned to seize Jabal Abū ʿAsal from his brother, whom he killed. (71)

Ahmad Bukr is said, like his son Muhammad Tayrāb, to have died on campaign against the Musabbaʿāt in Kordofan. (69) Another version has it that the cause of the campaign was some abusive remarks made about the sultan by Bādī, sultan of Sinnār. In the course of his advance, Bukr met the fakī, shaykh Khujalī b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who appears to have been a supporter of the Funj, since he cursed the sultan, who as a result died. (70)

(67) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 418; Beaton and Cooke, S.N.R., XXII/2, 1939, 200, giving the names of the twelve shartavāt. Beaton and Boustead collected detailed local histories of the shartavāt of ro diima in Mudīriya, Western District Handbook. See also MacMichael, Darfur 1915, U.K. Library, typescript, 70 and History, 1, 95-6, where he discusses al-Tūnisī's various references to the title.

(68) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 368.

(69) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 368, who says that the sultan died at Jabal Tika in western Kordofan.

(70) Wad Dayfallāh, Tabaqāt, 79 and MacMichael, History, 11, 251.



The Awlād Ahmad Bukr.

In one sense the subsequent political history of the Keira state until the accession of sultan <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān in 1204/1739-90, can be viewed under the aspect of the struggle of a corporate lineage organisation, the awlād Ahmad Bukr, against those of their members, who as sultans, were acting against the interests of the lineage. (71) Ahmad Bukr had many sons and from them came the various branches of the Keira royal clan and many of the leading Kunjara families. (72) Thus the reigns of the next four sultans were all marked by fighting between various contenders from among the awlād Ahmad Bukr. Unfortunately our information is too scanty to enable us to analyse the significance of these conflicts. We have no way of knowing from where the various contenders mobilised support or what was the nature of that support, except in the case of the Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, or why one contender was successful and another not. One generalisation seems possible; it was very hard to dislodge a sultan once he was firmly in power. 370, 1732-1732; Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 446, 1153/1742-6 - 1154/1743-7 and 1155/1744-6.

(71) See ed. J. Goody, Succession to High Office, Cambridge 1966, 1-56. There are no contemporary references. On

(72) Browne, Travels, 276; al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 73, Darfūr, 55; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 368 and Shuqayr,

Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 446. I have not seen a genealogy of a Keira or Kunjara family, except that of the Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, that reaches back to Sulaymān or Mūsā independently of Ahmad Bukr; all pass through him. 1154/1743-9 - 1155/1744-2 before Daura.

(76) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 369 and Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 446. The practice of imprisoning Keira rivals in Jabal Marra recalls a similar custom in Ethiopia.



It seems that Muhammad Dawra Al-Tūnisī records that when Ahmad Bukr was on his deathbed, he made the assembled title-holders swear an oath that they would ensure that the sultanate pass to each of his sons in turn. (73) Bukr seems to have nominated as khalīfa, (i.e. his appointed immediate successor), his eldest son, Muhammad Dawra. (74) Dawra is described in Fur tradition as a vigorous but cruel ruler; cruel because of his ruthless suppression of possible rivals from among the awlād Ahmad Bukr. (75) It is said that the sultan killed fifty to seventy of the sons of Ahmad Bukr upon his accession and later had executed Yūsuf al-Dallab b. Ahmad Bukr, who had originally been imprisoned in Jabal Marra. (76) Eventually his own son, Mūsā 'Anqarīb, led a revolt against his father.

(73) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 73, Darfour, 55. Muslim holy men

(74) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 368; Dawra is a Fur nickname meaning "iron". Various dates are given; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 370, 1722-1732; Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 446, 1158/1745-6 - 1170/1756-7 and Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 199, 1154/1741-2 - 1159/1746-7. There are no contemporary references. On khalīfa, see glossary.

(75) His treatment of the awlād Ahmad Bukr may explain why neither Browne and al-Tūnisī mention Dawra. There is also the unexplained and unsupported insertion by Cadalvène and said Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 199, of a long reign of Ismā'īl Abū Harrana, 1141/1728-9 - 1154/1741-2 before Dawra.

(76) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 369 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 446. The practice of imprisoning Keira rivals in Jabal Marra recalls a similar custom in Ethiopia.



It seems that Muhammad Dawra had originally nominated Mūsā as his khalīfa, but then began to favour another son, the future sultan <sup>c</sup>Umar Lel. Mūsā revolted in support of his rights in the succession and defeated his father at a battle fought near Jabal Ghabajat, between Hallūf and Jadīd al-Sayl, just north of al-Fāshir. The sultan then resorted to negotiation and, it would appear, treachery; he asked some of the fugara' to mediate, including among others a fakī from Katsina and <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Yūsuf, the founder of a noted line of Fulani fugara' in Dār Fūr. (77) This episode is important as it appears to mark the first recorded intervention in politics of Muslim holy men in Dār Fūr. (78) The fugara' made the sultan swear on the Qur'ān that he would not harm his son, but at the meeting Dawra tricked and murdered Mūsā. (79) Look at the period in some detail. (82) The migration of Muslim holy men continued under Muhammad Dawra, both from the west and the east. A fakī from Katsina has already been mentioned and it was in the reign of Muhammad Dawra that <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Yūsuf, a Fulani from Baqirmi, who settled in Dār Fūr and was given hawākīr in the region between Shawa and Tarni, south of al-Fāshir, and at Majalla on the western slopes of Jabal Mari.

(77) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 369-70.

(78) See below for the second example, 170.

(79) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 370; Dawra is said to have clubbed his son to death with a musket; the second apparent reference to firearms in Dār Fūr, see above 105.

(82) See below, 127.



Marra, where the sultan had a fāshir and where <sup>C</sup>Alī b. Yūsuf died. Another immigrant, but who came from the east, from the Hijāz, was Muḥammad b. Sālīh al-Kinānī, who became the imām of a mosque built by Muḥammad Dawra at Terjil, north-west of Nyala. (80)

Like his predecessors, Muḥammad Dawra appears to have moved around his expanding state; he is recorded as having fāshirs at Komora, near Terjil and at Majalla, where he died of leprosy. (81)

Muḥammad Dawra was succeeded by his son, <sup>C</sup>Umar, who was nicknamed Lel, which means in Fur "donkey"; he was so-called because he was patient and hardworking. The traditions of the reign of <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel are relatively rich and varied and enable us to look at the period in some detail. (82) The traditions relating to <sup>C</sup>Umar

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(80) I was able to collect considerable information on <sup>C</sup>Alī b. Yūsuf from his descendants, who today form an important fugarā clan around al-Fāshir; interviews, Amīn <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Hamīd, al-Fāshir 7.5.1970; Mahmūd Tijānī, al-Fāshir 31.5.1970 and Ahmad Adam Abbo, Kattāl 18.6.1970. On al-Kinānī, see Arkell Papers, file 13, folio 47, from information from Ahmad Adam al-Kinānī, a descendant of Muḥammad b. Sālīh al-Kinānī. The ruins of the mosque at Terjil can still be seen from the Nyala-Kas-Zalingei road.

(81) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 370. Komora is marked incorrectly on the 1:250,000 map as Komara.

(82) See below, 127.



Lel may be regarded as covering three topics; the continuing struggle with the awlād Ahmad Bukr, which then began to involve another group, the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt, and finally Wadai.

<sup>c</sup>Umar Lel was not a son of the great sultan and the period of his accession was marked by bitter conflicts, as recorded by Nachtigal and implied in the account of Shuqayr.

" He was the most just of the Fur sultans. He followed the Book and the Way ( al-kitāb wa'l-sunna ). After he had been sultan for three days, he went to the council ( kharaja ila mailis ). He wanted to abdicate in favour of one of his uncles. He said that the responsibility of being sultan was too great for him. His ministers refused, so he told them to wait a week and then

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(82) <sup>c</sup>Umar Lel is dated 1732-1739 by Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 370, and 1170/1756-7 - 1177/1763-4 by Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 447. These dates are too early and late, of respectively if the battle of Qihayf, which is dated to 1118, either 1160/1747-8 or 1165/1751-2, took place in his reign; Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 199, give 1159/1746-7 - 1167/1753-4, which seems the most probable. It is noteworthy that all the sources agree on a reign of about seven years.



From Shuqayr's account he would tell them his wishes. to  
 contend with considerable So he retired to his house for a week.  
 Bukr to his accession. Then he went out to his ministers,  
 b. Ahmad Bukr, was kept carrying in his hands horns, made  
 most dangerous of all, from wood, resembling those of goats  
 and Sulaymān al-Abyad and cows. He then addressed his  
 they sought refuge with followers and said that he wanted  
 Jangal, the son of the peace to prevail and that no wrong  
 of Dār Fūr with Mūsā. should exist until the goats of the  
 weakest woman were safe and their horns  
 maintaining themselves could grow up until they were like  
 who had made their peace those horns brought by him. Not long  
 into the Dār Fūr/Kordof after he received thirty complaints  
 between Umm Kaddāda and against the maqdums, shartais and  
 ruling clan of the Mūsā iundis. So he had fifteen executed at  
 them adherents from both the man's gate ( bāb al-riḡāl ) and  
 play an important role fifteen at the woman's gate ( bāb  
al-harīm )." (83) Sawl and Sulaymān

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(83) A summary of Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 446-7, which raises  
 problems of interpretation. The reference to the uncles is, of  
 course, to the awlād Ahmad Bukr. The use of the word, maḡlis,  
 is probably an anachronism - the use of the word, maqdūm,  
 certainly is - and indeed the existence of a state council in  
 the early sultanate may be doubted.  
 On bāb-al-riḡāl and bāb al-harīm, see glossary.

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(84) See above, 104.



From Shuqayr's account it is clear that <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel had to contend with considerable hostility from the awlād Ahmad Bukr to his accession. His eventual successor, Abū'l-Qāsim b. Ahmad Bukr, was kept imprisoned in Jabal Marra, while, most dangerous of all, the brothers Pelpelle b. Ahmad Bukr and Sulaymān al-Abyad b. Ahmad Bukr fled to Kordofan, where they sought refuge with the Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt sultan, <sup>C</sup>Isāwī b. Janqal, the son of the Musabba<sup>C</sup>awī who disputed the throne of Dār Fūr with Mūsā. (84)

The Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, unsuccessful in maintaining themselves in Dār Fūr, except for those groups who had made their peace with the Keira, had infiltrated into the Dār Fūr/Kordofan borderlands, the area roughly between Umm Kaddāda and al-Nuhūd. In this no-man's land the ruling clan of the Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt, the basna, gathered around them adherents from both Dār Fūr and Kordofan and began to play an important role in the politics of the area.

It seems that <sup>C</sup>Isāwī and Sulaymān al-Abyad joined forces to invade that part of central Kordofan held by the Ghudiyāt and the Funj, under the governorship of the <sup>C</sup>Abdallābī <sup>C</sup>Abdallāh Rās al-Tayr. At the famous battle of Qihayf, in either 1160/1747-8 or 1165/1751-2, <sup>C</sup>Abdallāh Rās al-Tayr and the Ghudiyāt leader were defeated and killed. The victors then settled near al-Ubayyid. It may be that <sup>C</sup>Isāwī had received Sulaymān

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(84) See above, 104.



al-Abyad's support in Kordofan in exchange for his help in ousting <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel from the sultanate in Dār Fūr. As a casus belli, <sup>C</sup>Isāwī is said to have written to Sultan <sup>C</sup>Umar <sup>C</sup>Arūs demanding, since the sultan was about to bestow his father's wives and concubines on the leading notables in Dār Fūr, that he be given <sup>C</sup>Umar's own mother. (85) The outraged Keira sultan promptly invaded Kordofan, causing <sup>C</sup>Isāwī to flee towards Sinnār, but giving Sulaymān al-Abyad the chance to enter Dār Fūr.

In another version, <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel learnt that <sup>C</sup>Isāwī and Sulaymān al-Abyad were planning to invade Dār Fūr, and to forestall them, himself invaded Kordofan. However the Musabba<sup>C</sup>āt and Sulaymān al-Abyad were able to move into Dār Fūr by another route. There <sup>C</sup>Isāwī left Sulaymān with most of the army and returned to Kordofan. <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel hurriedly returned and sent ahead the abba shaykh daali, Baraka, to attack Sulaymān, while he concentrated his forces at Jadīd al-Sayl, just north of al-Fāshir. Baraka caught up with Sulaymān at Barga, near Jabal Saywa, south of al-Fāshir, but was defeated and killed. Despite this victory, Sulaymān continued to move south

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(85) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 370-1; there is reference to a similar practice by the later Keira sultan, <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān; see al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 101, Darfūr, 39, and below, 174. <sup>C</sup>Isāwī's demand was probably morally outrageous, but it would also have had political implications. Dār Fūr.



towards Dār Birged, disheartened by the lack of support he found in Dār Fūr for his cause, to await reinforcements, which had been promised him by sultan Jāmi<sup>c</sup> b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb<sup>c</sup> Arūs of Wadai. However he was brought to battle at Kalamboa in Dār Birged and there defeated and killed. (86)

Umar Lel is said to have decided, to invade Wadai because of the help promised to Sulaymān al-Abyad by the Wadai sultan. (87) He may, however, already have campaigned in Wadai. (88) Nachtigal records that Kūnī b. Ahmad Bukr asked the sultan to release Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ahmad Bukr, who seems to have emerged in some style as the leader of the awlad Ahmad Bukr, from Jabal Marra. Umar did so successor, see below 137-8.

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(86) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 206-7; al-Tunisi, Tashkīh, 75; and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 371. Kalamboa is marked on the 1:250,000 map on the Nyala-Manawāshī-al-Fāshir road.

(87) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 206; I cannot identify Jāmi<sup>c</sup> b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb<sup>c</sup> Arūs from any of the published Wadai regnal lists, but it is probable that the invasion occurred in the reign of Sālih Kharīf al-Taymān Jōda, who reigned about 1747 to 1795; see Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 274 and Tubiana, Cahiers d'etudes africaines, II, 49-95.

(88) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 372; I cannot identify the phrase doga bani. Kūnī b. Ahmad Bukr founded an important family which provided several maqdots in southern Dār Fūr.



## Chapter IX

but warned that it would have disastrous consequences for Kūnī and the awlād Ahmad Bukr. <sup>C</sup>Umar advanced into Wadai, but was defeated and captured, his army deserting him during the battle. (89)

The death or capture of <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel in Wadai led to a confused period in Dār Fūr, but Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ahmad Bukr, as the leading member of the awlād Ahmad Bukr, quickly seized power as sultan. (1) It appears that the

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Musabba<sup>C</sup>at under <sup>C</sup>Isāwī b. Jangal tried to intervene in Dār (89) Our sources give no explanation for the army's desertion, but it may simply have been the final act in the conflict between <sup>C</sup>Umar and the awlād Ahmad Bukr. There could possibly be a confusion between the end of <sup>C</sup>Umar and the end of his successor, see below 137-8.

help of the Beigo sultan, he returned to Kordofan where, Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 206-7; according to one version, he was crowned by his uncle, al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 75, Darfour, 55 and Quaday, 83;

Mustafa, who had assumed the leadership of the Musabba<sup>C</sup>at Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 372 and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 42. Carbou, Région du Tchad, 11, 112, says that <sup>C</sup>Umar

Lel died in captivity in a village near Hajīd Jumbo in Wadai.

<sup>C</sup>Umar Lel and Ibrāhīm are the only post-Sulaymānic sultans not buried at Turra.

Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 199, 1167/1753-4 - 1176/1761-3, and Slatin, Ta'wīd al-Sūdān, 447, 1177/1763-4 - 1181/1767-3; this last date may be the most probable if the reference of James Bruce, from his diary in Sinnār 1.3.1772, to the killing of a king in Dār Fūr refers to Abu'l-Qāsim; A. Murray, Life and Writings of James Bruce, Edinburgh 1808, 425.

(2) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 207, say the battle was fought at "Bil", but this is almost certainly a misprint for Rīl.



## chapter IV

THE MIDDLE YEARS: CONFLICT AND EXPANSIONThe Revolt of the Title-holders.

The death or capture of <sup>c</sup>Umar Lel in Wadai led to a confused period in Dār Fūr, but Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ahmad Bukr, as the leading member of the aylād Ahmad Bukr, quickly seized power as sultan. (1) It appears that the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt under <sup>c</sup>Isāwī b. Janqal tried to intervene in Dār Fūr once more, though whether on behalf of a Keira contender or not is not stated. <sup>c</sup>Isāwī advanced into eastern Dār Fūr but was defeated by Abu'l-Qāsim at Rīl, north east of Nyala. He fled southwards to Dār Beigo, and from there with the help of the Beigo sultan, he returned to Kordofan where, according to one version, he was murdered by his uncle, Mustafā, who had assumed the leadership of the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt in Kordofan in alliance with the Funj. (2)

(1) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 74, Darfūr, 56. The dates again vary; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 372, 1739-52; Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 199, 1167/1753-4 - 1176/1761-2, and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 447, 1177/1763-4 - 1181/1767-3; this last date may be the most probable if the reference of James Bruce, from his diary in Sinnār 1.3.1772, to the killing of a king in Dār Fūr refers to Abu'l-Qāsim; A. Murray, Life and Writings of James Bruce, Edinburgh 1808, 425.

(2) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 207, say the battle was fought at "Bil", but this is almost certainly a misprint for Rīl.



The Fur had come down from the mountains and begun a period of conquest under a <sup>Line</sup> time of warrior sultans. In the course of this spectacular expansion, the tribal chiefs, ritual experts, clan and war leaders had grown into a class of hereditary title-holders and the stakes for which they contended became much greater than before as land, women and booty came into their hands. (3) But as the state grew, the interests of the sultans and his original tribal supporters and their chiefs began insensibly to diverge. To reap the profits of empire, even to keep it together, the sultan needed to concentrate more and more power in his own hands, a process that could not fail to bring clashes with the old-established title-holders. There were various ways in which the sultan could strengthen his position vis-à-vis the title-holders; he could use slave troops and officials, who would be free of clan or tribal loyalties and dependent upon the sultan alone for advancement; he could exercise a tighter control over the trade of the state and he could attempt to supplant tribal institutions and values by Islamic ones.

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(3) On the war leaders, see above 32. Apart from the ritual mercenaries such as the Musabba as followers of Kammis P. Janqal. Badi's innovations, in the context of a much weaker central authority than Dar Fur, eventually led to a conservative survival of such titles as abbo konyunga, forang aba, abbo dugunga and abbo kunjara, see glossary.

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(4) Urvey, Bornou, 80-8; the process is well described in R. Cohen, "The Dynamics of Feudalism in Bornu", in ed. J. Butler, Boston University Papers on Africa, II, Boston 1966, 87-105.



Abū Liḡaylik. (5) In particular, the use of slaves to provide, in the first instance, a more efficient and reliable military force than tribal levies was a common phenomenon, such as the Mamluks of Egypt or the kapî kullarî, "the slaves of the Porte" in the Ottoman empire, <sup>who</sup> often tended to acquire administrative and bureaucratic functions, and even to become the ruling elite.

Such a process of alienation between sultan and title-holders was not peculiar to Dār Fūr; similar expedients were adopted by rulers throughout the central and eastern Sudanic region. The famous mai or ruler of sixteenth century Bornu, Idrīs Alawma, 1580-1617, attempted by appointing gādīs to take control of the administration of justice away from the tribal leaders; indeed much of the history of Bornu is concerned with the attempts of the mais to centralise their state at the expense of the title-holders. (4) In Dār Fūr's imperial neighbour to the east, Sinnār, the eighteenth century ruler, Bādī IV Abū Shulūkh, (1136/1724 - 1175/1762), is described in the Funj Chronicle as seizing the lands of the old title-holders and making extensive use of Nuba slave troops and of mercenaries such as the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt followers of Khamīs b. Janqal. Bādī's innovations, in the context of a much weaker central authority than Dar Fur, eventually led to a conservative reaction by the title-holders under the leadership of Muhammad

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(4) Urvoy, Bornou, 80-8; the process is well described in R. Cohen, "The Dynamics of Feudalism in Bornu", in ed. J. Butler, Boston University Papers on Africa, II, Boston 1966, 87-105.



Abū Likaylik. (5)

This process and the conflicts it engendered are rarely overtly mentioned in Dār Fūr sources, partly because of the strength of the sultanate as an institution and partly because the sultans seem to have struck a balance between reliance on slaves and on the title-holders. However before the long and stabilising, because successful, reign of Muḥammad Tayrāb b. Aḥmad Bukr, (1176/1762-3 - 1200/1785-6), under ʿUmar Lel and more especially Abu'l-Qāsim, the power struggles of the awlād Aḥmad Bukr seem to have weakened the relations between the sultan and the title-holders, whose positions were hereditary. This led to the common Sudanic and Islamic reaction and the sultan began to rely on others, particularly slaves, for support. The sultan in creating a new basis for support would have to give his new supporters, the rewards, land, titles and imported luxury goods, which have formerly been the prerogatives of the title-holders. With the relative scarcity of such resources, the competition would become the more intense between the sultan and his new supporters and the old class of title-holders.

Some such cycle seems to have taken place slowly in eighteenth century Dār Fūr, with the

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(5) ed. al-Shāṭir Busaylī ʿAbd Al-Jalīl, Makṭūṭat Kātib al-Shūna, Cairo 1963, 20-1 and P.M. Holt, A Modern History of the Sudan, second edition London 1963, 21-2



conflict changing from a struggle within the Keira family as only under <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel to a more generalised conflict between the sultan and the title-holders under Abu'l-Qāsim, who is from us and described by Nachtigal, "Zaghāwī, Bahr, fight for him." (8)

The sultan was wounded "He completely alienated from himself, the Fur only joining the free men of the country, preferring slaves and heaping upon them riches and places of honour." (6)

He is also said to have made a Zaghāwī, Bahr, his vazīr, and to have valued his advice more than that of the Fur notables. (7)

It was against this background of discontent that Abu'l-Qāsim planned the time-honoured expedient of a foreign war, intending to invade Wadai in revenge for the defeat of <sup>C</sup>Umar Lel. But even his preparations for war caused discontent, since he levied an additional tax of one head of cattle per household throughout the state to finance the war. The sultan invaded Wadai, but at the crucial battle further insulted the Fur and their leaders, whom he probably had very good reason to distrust, by putting them

(8) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 373. Slavin, Fire and Sword, 42, records, "Abu al Kāsim showed a great inclination As soon as battle was joined the Fur promptly deserted the sultan, shouting, it is said,

his relations, who urged him to take the field against Wadai, and, having advanced, suddenly deserted him with the army,

(6) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 373

(7) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 373 and Carbou, Région

(9) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 373-4.  
du Tchad et du Ouadai, 11, 112. On vazīr, see glossary.



"Children of Fur, take to flight, for only flight can save us. Desert Abu'l-Qāsim.

Let the cows which he has taken from us and the Zaghāwī, Bahr, fight for him." (8)

The sultan was wounded and left for dead on the battle-field, the Fur only joining the fight when they saw the sacred drum, al-mansūra, in danger of being carried off by the Wadai army.

With Abu'l-Qāsim removed from the scene, the Fur leaders chose his brother, Muhammad Tayrāb b. Ahmad, as his successor. But Abu'l-Qāsim was not dead; he had been found and nursed back to health by a member of the Mahāmīd tribe, who as nomads wander between Dār Fūr and Wadai. When Abu'l-Qāsim reappeared in Dār Fūr, his brother wanted immediately to abdicate, but the Fur title-holders opposed this and the former sultan was put to death. (9)

Nachtigal's account of the strangling of Abu'l-Qāsim by a man, called 'Abd al-Qādir Wīr, using a

(8) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 373. Slatin, Fire and Sword, 42, records, "Abu el Kasem showed a great inclination to the Blacks and incurred, in consequence, the hostility of his relations, who urged him to take the field against Wadai, and, having advanced, suddenly deserted him with the army, leaving the Blacks only".

(9) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 373-4.



cloth, has something of a ritual flavour. (10) The former sultan's sister, the liya baasi, Zamzam Sendi Suttera, was also executed at the same time and her title given to a sister of Muhammad Tayrāb, Korongo. What is curious and tends to reinforce the atmosphere of ritual about the episode is the fact that 'Abd al-Qādir founded, after the event, an important family which held the title of abbo daadinga, which carried with it the job of chief executioner and command of a section of the sultan's slave forces, opposed in his predecessor and the emergence, under the

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(10) This ritual atmosphere is perhaps further reinforced by the remark in Murray, Life and Writings, from Bruce's Sinnār diary, 1.8.1772, "It is at Darfoor they put the king to death, with two razors, in a seshe, or handkerchief. At Sennaar he is killed with a sword, by one of his relations, The Gindi, or common executioner of the town". Within the context of Dār Fūr as a typical Sudanic "Divine Kingship" state, if such a thing exist, ritual regicide is not impossible, but it cannot be argued for on one dubious example; Yūsuf Fadl Hasan, "Al-qatl al-ṭaqsi 'ind al-Funj", Majallat al-darāsāt al-sūdāniya, II/1, 1970, 32-47, perhaps goes too far in accepting the Nachtigal reference as certain proof of ritual regicide in Dār Fūr.

(12) It would be a mistake to understand the role of the sultan's personality in the political structure of the state; the traditions of Dār Fūr and the way in which they terrified everyone was of Tayrāb.



the daadinga. (11)

### The Move Eastwards.

When the title-holders deserted Abu'l-Qāsim on the battle-field in Wadai, it seems to have marked the high point of their resistance to the growing power of the sultan. Despite their successful opposition to Abu'l-Qāsim, the long and successful reign of his successor saw the fruition of many of the trends they had opposed in his predecessor and the emergence, under the dominant personality of Tayrāb, of the sultanate as the strongest institution in the state. (12) It is interesting to compare this growth in the position of the sultan in Dār Fūr with his virtual disappearance as an effective force in Sinnār.

It is difficult to determine and to document the underlying causes of the growth of the sultan's power, but perhaps the main factor was the gradual change of the Keira state from a Fur tribal concern to a

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(11) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 374 and interviews with the present abbo daadinga, malik Rihaymtallāh Muḥammad Mahmūd, al-Fāshir 19.5.1970 and 7.6.1970.

(12) It would be a mistake to underestimate the role of the sultan's personality in the political evolution of the state; the traditions of Dār Fūr constantly emphasise how terrified everyone was of Tayrāb.

d'études africaines, VII/3, 1967, 33-40 and State Formation in the Eastern Sudan, 1970, 6-10.



multi-tribal state under a supra-tribal ruling institution, in which the Fur were no longer so important. The growth of the Keira state is reflected in the shift, beginning in the campaigns of Muhammad Tayrāb and culminating in the establishment of al-Fāshir by ʿAbd al-Rahmān east of Jabal Marra in the non-Fur area. Since most of the Fur lived west of Jabal Marra, this move could not but weaken their links with the sultan.

It was not so much that the power of the Fur title-holders grew less. Instead with the growing maturity and complexity of the sultanate, they became only one factor among several and thus more subservient to the sultan. Their military importance, based upon their leadership of the tribal levies, was undermined by the growth of slave troops dependent directly on the sultan. (13) And increasing trade with the outside world probably brought wealth to the sultan rather than to the title-holders, which in turn enabled him to increase his military advantage, since he could supply his followers more easily with horses, arms, armour and later guns. (14)

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(13) See below 144-7.

(14) The Keira sultans exercised a very tight control over the trade out of Dār Fūr, see below 230 and Browne, Travels, 298-9 and 301. On the growth of the sultans' powers, see M.M. Horowitz, "A reconsideration of the 'Eastern Sudan'", Cahiers d'études africaines, VII/3, 1967, 394-6, and O'Fahey, States and State Formation in the Eastern Sudan, Khartoum 1970, 6-10.



If the title-holders thought that Muhammad Tayrāb would be more pliable than his brother, Abu l-Qāsim, they made a great miscalculation; he was perhaps the most vigorous and able of the Keira sultans. (15)

The Fur title-holders had objected to Abu l-Qāsim for, among other reasons, his favouring the Zaghāwī, the wazīr Bahr, but Tayrāb made even greater use of Zaghāwa in his administration. Tayrāb's mother was from the ruling Angu clan of Zaghāwa Kobe and when he became sultan he began to appoint title-holders from that clan. He made his maternal uncle, Kharūt b. Hilān, sultan of Zaghāwa Kobe, giving him the nuhās as the symbol of his authority. Two of Kharūt's sons were given titles; <sup>c</sup>Umar was made orrendulung, responsible for the security of the sultan's fāshir and the main intermediary between the sultan and his subjects and Hasīb, abbo irlingo, whose honorary task was to place the turban on the sultan during the coronation ceremonies, but who also ruled<sup>d</sup> the Tunjur and

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(15) Dates for Tayrāb again vary; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 375, 1752-1785; Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sudan, 449, 1181/1767-8 - 1202/1787-8; Cadalvene and Breuvery, L'Egypte et la Turquie, 11, 199, 1176/1762-3 - 1200/1785-6; Browne, Travels, 276, and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 74 and Darfour, 56 say he reigned for 32 or 33 years respectively. We have a contemporary reference to Tayrāb in Murray, Life and Writings, 420, from Bruce's Sinnār diary, dated 20.7.1772.

(20) See above 136-7.



Mina tribes. (16) The favour shown to Zaghāwa by Tayrāb is probably a continuing reflection of their strategic position at the southern end of the darb al-arba<sup>6</sup> In. (17)

The growing strength of the sultan vis-à-vis the title-holders can be illustrated in other ways; perhaps the most important being the creation of a standing army, recruited mainly from slaves, dependent for their food and arms upon the sultan alone. As we have seen, the early sultans probably campaigned with armies of tribal levies, called out under the chiefs to fight for a limited season after the rains (kharif). (18) Al-Tūnisī records that several title-holders had specific military functions; the orrenzdulung commanded the advance guard, the aba umang the rear, while the subordinate administrative title, dilmong (Arabic, dimli) seems originally to have been a military title. (19) The inadequacy of this system, from the point of view of the sultan at least, was probably exposed in the wars against Wadai and Abu'l-Qāsim attempted to replace it with a slave army, with fatal consequences to himself. (20)

(22) NachMichael, Historie. If the title-holders had hoped by deserting Abu'l-Qāsim and replacing him by Tayrāb to put an end to a development that was so dangerous to their position,

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(16) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 330.

(17) See above 113.

(18) See above 32.

(19) See glossary under the titles.

(20) See above 136-7.



they made yet another miscalculation. The practice of importing and settling groups from outside the state to act as a counter-weight to local potentially dissident groups had been standard sultanic practice since the time of Ahmad Bukr, but Tayrāb continued it on an enlarged scale and seemingly for a more definitely military purpose. (21)

Like his less successful near contemporary in Sinnār, Bādī IV Abū Shulūkh, he imported Nuba slaves and settled them in communities in southern Dār Fūr, particularly in Dār Daju; they were known in Dār Fūr as the Turūj. (22)

Other groups imported by Tayrāb included the 'Abidiya, imported from Dār Fertit south of Dār Fūr, and the daadinga, from Dār Tāma. (23)

Despite their obvious importance in the history of the sultanate, we have very little

(21) See above, 107; on this as a general Sudanic practice, see A.G.B. and H.J. Fisher, Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa, London 1970, 127-37.

(22) MacMichael, History, i, 89-90 and see below, 191. On the term, Turūj, see R.C. Stevenson, Afrika und Übersee, XL, 1956, 73-84, used as the name of a dialect of the Tulishi language group. On the Turūj in Dār Fūr among the Daju, Mudiriya, DP.66.B.31, (Open), Dago, and in Kordofan, S. Hillelson, S.N.R., 1925, 59-71.

(23) MacMichael, Darfur 1915, U.K. Library, typescript, 62 and History, i, 89-90.



information on the organisation of these slave forces. But what fragmentary information we do have, suggests that they were quite highly organised into groups or regiments, each with a specific function. The sultan's personal guard consisted of the korkwa and the kotingo whose commanders, who could be either slaves or freemen, had the titles malik korkwa and abbo kotingo respectively. (24) The kotingo were specifically the guards of the sultan's fāshir, while the korkwa appear to have been armed pages whose ranks were recruited from the younger slaves of the sultan's household the soming dogala or soming kwe, (Fur, "children of the household") or even from tribal.

Gross consisted of a cotton shirt,

of the same material as the sultan's. (26)

(24) Korkwa, (sing. Kordungo), apparently from the Fur, kor, "spear", kwa, "men", but it is worth noting that U. Seetzen, "Worterverzeichnis aus der Sprache der Neger von Dar Fur" in J.S. Vater, Proben Deutscher Volks-Mundarten, Leipzig 1816, gives "kriege" for kor; they were known as Gor in 'Alī Dīnār's time. I could find no explanation for Kotingo; the Abbo Kotingo under the Arabic title, wazīr, was in fact much more important as an administrative official. Abū Adam 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 1409),

who now describes himself as a descendant of a father who was a magdum, is the descendant of a magdum from the Barti tribe, who killed a man from the magdum tribe, al-bayt) and fled to al-bayt in the korkwa of sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān.

(26) Browne, Travels, 233.



refugees. (25) Browne perhaps describes one of these groups at an audience given by Tayrāb's successor, sultan <sup>c</sup>Abd Al-Rahmān, at which he was present,

"The place he (i.e. the sultan) sat in was spread with small Turkey carpets. The Meleks were seated at some distance on the right and left, and behind them a line of guards, with caps ornamented in front with a small piece of copper and a black ostrich feather. Each bore a spear in his hand, and a target of the hide of the hippopotamus on the opposite arm. Their dress consisted only of a cotton shirt, of the manufacture of the country." (26)

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(25) On the korkwa, see al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 169, Darfour, 161-2 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 429-33.

Lebeuf, Principautés Kotoko, 189-200 describes the complex hierarchy that existed among the household slaves, the mi vanne, of the rulers of the Kotoko states; from the rather confused remarks of Nachtigal, some such system may have operated at the Keira court, although all memory of it has gone. Abū Adam <sup>c</sup>Abdallāhī, (interview, Nyala June 1969), who now describes himself as a Keira and whose grandfather was a maaddūm, is the descendant of one Hanafī, from the Berti tribe, who killed a man from his own clan (Arabic, khashm al-bayt) and fled to al-Fāshir to take service in the korkwa of sultan <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān.

(26) Browne, Travels, 213.



From the ranks of the korkwa of the time of Tayrāb came several figures who became prominent in the politics of early nineteenth century Dār Fūr, including the maqdūm Musallim and the abbo shaykh daali, Muhammad Kurra. (27)

Another important division of the sultan's slave army were the daadinga, who appear to have been slave troops commanded by the abbo daadinga. The daadinga and the kotingo seemed to have been grouped together, since their commanders, whose ranks were equal, were nicknamed "the twins", al-taymān. The daadinga, whose main settlement from the time of Tayrāb was on the hawākīr of the abbo daadinga at Qōz Bayna, south of al-Fāshir, were themselves divided into the kōbi diko, "the Black Shields" and kōbi fuka, "the Red Shields". (28)

There are references to other military or quasi-military groups in the service of the sultans; these included the saaringa, "the Swordsmen" (from the Fur, saar"sword"), under the malik saaringa, the koriat

(27) See below, 191.

(28) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 429 and Mailis, Fasher District, Tawila Omodia, DP.FD.66.K.1.5, G.E. Moore, note 13.2.1933; this is a very valuable note on the Keira military system, and interview, the abbo daadinga, malik Rihaymtallāh Muhammad, al-Fāshir 7.6.1970. MacMichael, Darfur 1915, U.K. Library, 62, translates daadinga as "the Executioners", which was denied by the present abbo daadinga.



them together. (30)

or grooms of the sultan's horses under the malik koriat and the andanga (Fur, anda, "scout"), a body of professional scouts. (29) But the military reality underlying the new strength of the sultan's position was the maintenance by the sultans of a body of heavy cavalry.

Until the coming of firearms on a large scale in the nineteenth century heavy cavalry were the ultimate deterrent in the Sudanic region. Like cannon in fifteenth century Europe, their existence was not simply a military phenomenon, but also a cause of social change, economic cycles and shifts in the balance of power within the states of the region. The eastern and central Sudanic states had an exemplar for the creation and use of heavy cavalry in their main trading partner, Egypt, whose Mamluk cavalry were perhaps the most skilled exponents of the technique in the world. The Sudanic states also perhaps adopted the conservatism of the Mamluks towards firearms, although the Moroccan invasion of the Songhai empire had shown that, at least within a Sudanic context, firearms could overthrow empires, but not hold the European colonial Powers in the area.

(31) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 434 and Archibald Cameron

(29) Mallis, DP.FD.66.K.1.5, note, Moore, 13.2.1933.

Kauringa today live around Kabkabiya and Shoba, the latter the fashir of Tayrab, who settled them there; from notes collected for me in the Kabkabiya region by Murtaza al-Hajj.



them together. (30)

Again we have relatively little information on the heavy cavalry of Dār Fūr, except that they existed and were effective. Their equipment was expensive; they wore padded armour (Sudanese Arabic, libis), made by a particular Fur section, the kuuringa, or less commonly, chain mail (Arabic, dīra<sup>c</sup>). (31) Chain mail suits were particularly prized and there was an important

(30) On the Mamluks, see D. Ayalon, Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom, London 1956. Much has been written on the failure of Sudanic rulers, with the notable exception of mai Idrīs Alawma of Bornu, to make use of firearms - for example, Trimingham, History of Islam in West Africa, 103, but one wonders what practical use firearms would have been to a Sudanic ruler, whose military campaigns were usually against poorly-armed tribes and rarely against well-armed opponents. A man on a horse is a much more effective agent for controlling peasants and nomads than a man with a gun, hence the rapid creation of Camel Corps and Sipahis by the European colonial Powers in the area.

(31) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 434 and Arkell Papers, file 13, folios 48-50 notes from the abbo jabbay Fadl. The kuuringa today live around Kabkābīya and Shōba, the latter the fāshir of Tayrāb, who settled them there; from notes collected for me in the Kabkābīya region by Mustafā al-Hājī.

(35) See below, 259.



luxury trade in them from Germany, where they were usually made, via Egypt, to the rulers and tribal chiefs of the able Sudan. (32) Their weapons included swords (Fur, saar), spears (Fur, kor, sambe), axes and maces (Arabic, dabbūs). (33) But perhaps the most important, and certainly the most expensive, part of their equipment, were the horses. These were an especially large breed of horses, reared in the old Dongola region, which formed a very important and expensive export to Dār Fūr. (34) We have no indication of the numbers of such cavalry the sultans maintained, but it was probably not large. (35)

The wider implications of such cavalry were considerable. In the savanna and semi-desert country of the eastern Sudanic region they were militarily

(32) On the value of chain mail, see J. Bruce, Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, London 1790, 5 vols., IV, 479; M. Parkyns, "The Kubbabish Arabs between Dongola and Kordofan", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XX, 1851, 254-7 and F. Werne, African Wanderings, London 1852, 37 and 173.

(33) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 441-3 and Arnell Papers, file 13, folios 48-50.

(34) Browne, Travels, 223 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 442. It seems that the Dongola breed degenerated in Dār Fūr conditions and this necessitated a constant import of such horses, Mudīriya, Nyala District Handbook.

(35) See below, 258.



very effective even in small numbers. (36) They were too expensive for the local chiefs and title-holders to be able to maintain more than a handful and thus became a key element in the process of centralisation carried out by the sultans, leading to a partial Islamisation of the institutions of the sultanate and to the rise of new titles and officials, such the maqdūm, amīn and the abbo jabbay. (37) The older titles, aba diimang, aba uumang and takanāwī sank into relative obscurity, and the new titles, particularly maqdūm, became important as commissioners operating out of the capital on specific missions and directly answerable to the sultan. each year to act as concubines But this military revolution must not be exaggerated; the Fur continued to play a leading part in the campaigns of Tayrāb and his successors. They were famous for their use of the throwing knife (Fur, sambal), a  
as we shall see in the case of Tam Būa, the Boiga and sultan

(36) About 1206/1791-2 <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān sent an expedition to reconquer Kordofan with only two hundred of such cavalry; see Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211.  
 and below, .

(37) See below 247-53 and glossary. Further discussion: Arkell Papers, file 13, folios 38-43 note of conversation (26.8.1954) with gādī Idrīs, Fadl abbo jabbay, Hasan Sabīl and Muhammad al-Sinnārī, mentioning the role of the abbo jabbay as commander of heavy cavalry. When Tayrāb invaded Kordofan he left the abbo jabbay as wakīl (Arabic, "deputy") to his son Ishāq, in Dār Fūr. Antiquities, 25.



lethal weapon in the hands of a skilled person. (38)

In the early years of his reign, Tayrāb had his main fāshir at Shōba, near Kabkābiya, on the western side of Jabal Marra, where he built a splendid palace and mosque and where he settled various Fur groups. (39) But in the middle years of his reign, Tayrāb began a series of campaigns east of Jabal Marra, where before the sultans appear to have exercised only an informal influence.

Nachtigal records a tradition of a rebellion by the Birged because they thought Tayrāb was selling as slaves to the jallāba the girls they sent him each year to act as concubines or servants. The Birged would be unlikely to object to the sending of some of their daughters as such, since one could well become the mother of the next sultan, to the decided advantage of her family and tribe, as we shall see in the case of Umm Būza, the Beigo and sultan Muhammad al-Fadl. In order to suppress the revolt, Tayrāb moved his fāshir to Rīl and left his son, Ishāq, whom he had nominated as his khalīfa, to rule the western part of the

(38) See E.S. Thomas, "The African Throwing Knife", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LV, 1924, 129-45 and D. Olderogge, "Survivals of the Throwing-knife in Darfur", Man, 1934, 128, 106-7, with illustrations.

(39) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 375 and notes collected on the traditions of the clans by Muṣṭafā al-Hājj. There is a plan of the fāshir in Balfour Paul, History and Antiquities, 25.



sultanate. (40)

The Birged had been organised into a series of petty chiefdoms, Musku, Adawa, Doleaba and Muhajiriya, but Tayrāb as part of his eastern expansion began to suppress these in favour of larger units under his own nominees instead of the original Birged chiefly families. He is said to have given large tracts of Dār Birged as hawākīr to a Kinānī Arab, Sulaymān b. Ahmad Jaffdāl, who won the sultan's favour by his skill in the treatment of horses. The following tradition was recorded from a descendant of Sulaymān b. Ahmad,

"Sulaymān b. Ahmad Jaffdāl was a Kinānī Arab who came from Sinja in the Blue Nile Province. He came to Dār Fūr in the time of Muhammad Tayrāb. He went to Shōba and was given the area around Marshing, between Manawāshī and Jabal Marra as an hākūra. On one occasion he was summoned by Tayrāb to treat some sick horses, since Sulaymān was skilled in the treatment of horses. Tayrāb was so pleased that he said "I add to your hākūra at Marshing a place called Torba".

(40) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 375.

This is a good example of the growing conflict between tribal and sultanic interests.



Eastern Torba was just north of Malumm. When Tayrāb was preparing to attack Hāshim al-Musabba<sup>c</sup>āwī, he gave Sulaymān another part of Dār Birged; in order to do so, he dismissed the previous Birged shartai of Shawnga, between Torba and Marshing.

Sulaymān fought well and bravely in the campaign in Kordofan. Later after he had returned from Kordofan, in the time of sultan <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, other parts of Dār Birged were given to him - Jabal Adawa and Kudmāl and his southern boundary was said to have stretched as far as the Bahr al-<sup>c</sup>Arab.

From that time on all the shartais of Dār Birged Kajjar have come from the family of Sulaymān b. Ahmad." (41)

Tayrāb further extended or reinforced Keira authority over the Beigo and the Berti tribes.

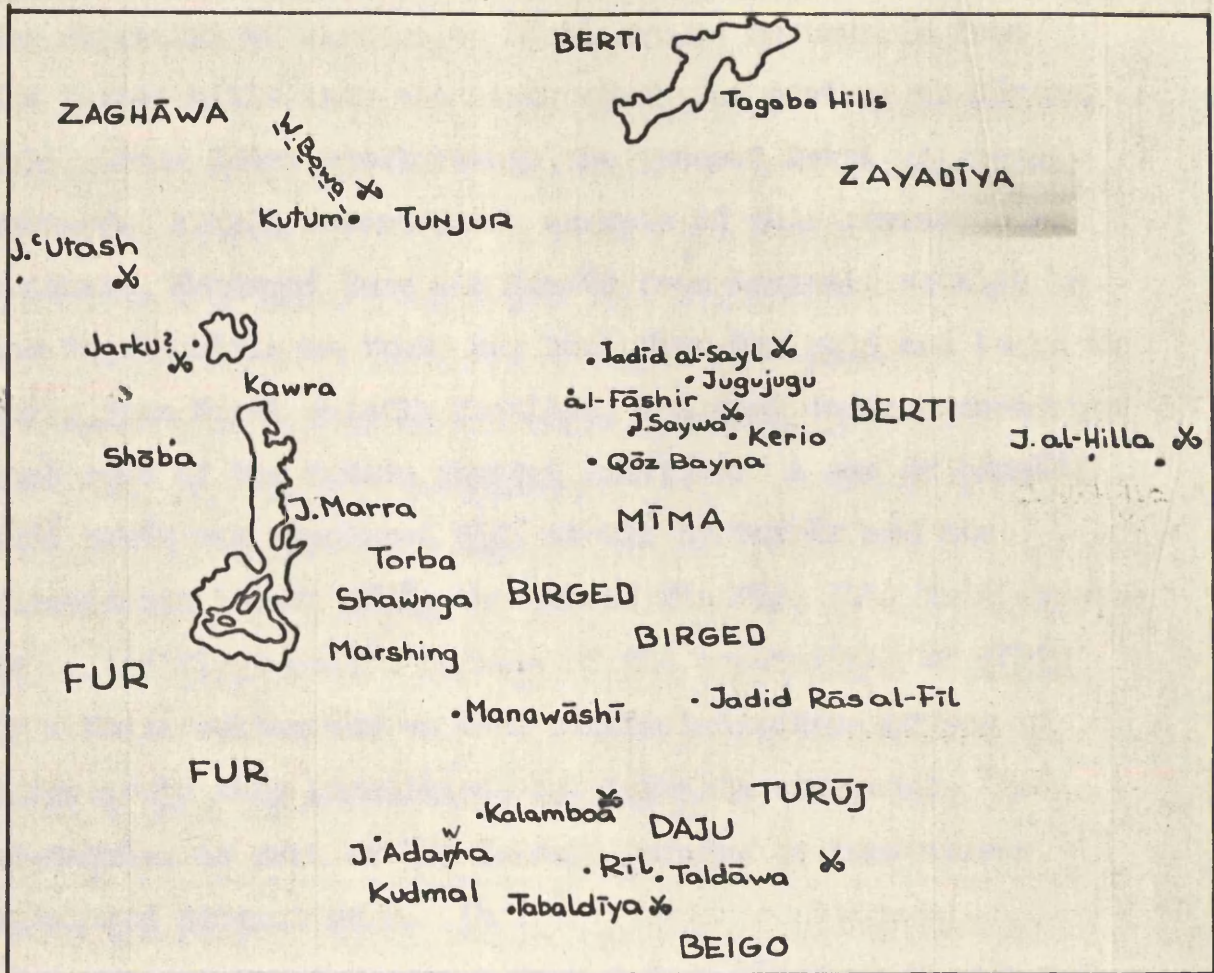
(42) The Berti appear to have had a long tradition of

(41) Both Dr. Arkell and myself were able to collect considerable information on the Birged, see Arkell Papers, file 22. I interviewed shartai Muhammad Ādam Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb (Ghor Abeshei, 26.6.1969) and Sabīl Ādam Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb (al-Fāshir, 4.6.1970), who made available to me his extensive notes on the history and customs of the Birged.

(42) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 375.



## Eastern Dar Fur.



BERTI .....tribe

Kudmal... towns, villages and districts



chieftanship, associated with the basanga clan, going back to their "Culture Hero", al-Hājj Muhammad Yambar. But this (46) early tradition of chieftanship seems to have declined with the migration of successive Berti groups southwards from the Tagabo hills into the lands south and east of al-Fāshir.

(43) Under Keira overlordship the present Berti shartayāt emerged. Arkell recorded one example of this process; two brothers, Muhammad Tamr and Hammād from Baqirmi, settled in the Tagabo hills on their way back from the hail and began to marry from Berti chiefly families, and from their descendants come some of the modern shartai families. A son of Hammād, Mūsā Warāk was appointed qādī at Rīl by Tayrāb and his Kordofan descendants became qādīs throughout Dār Fūr. (44) This appears to be the first record we have of the appointment of qādīs. (49) by a Keira sultan and we have little indication of how effectively they functioned, but Tayrab's successor, 'Abd al-Rahmān, as part of his Islamic reforms or innovations, appointed several more. (45)

It was from Rīl that Tayrāb set out to bring the Rizayqāt to heel in a series of campaigns, but as the Keira army moved south, the Rizayqāt, highly mobile in their way of life, withdrew further south into the

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(43) L. Holy, "Local communities among the Berti", Annals of the Naprstek Museum, Prague, I, 1962, 37-52.

(44) Arkell Papers, file 16, folios 24-31.

(45) See below 183-5.



land of the Dinka. Tayrāb had little success and such campaigns were probably more costly than they were worth. (46)

### The Invasion of Kordofan.

As we have seen, the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt and their allies had won a notable victory over the Funj and their allies at Qihayf in 1160/1747-8 or 1165/1751-2. (47) The shattered Funj forces were rallied by Muhammad Abū Likaylik; at first Abū Likaylik suffered defeat, but he seems to have rallied the Funj sufficiently to have held onto the eastern part of Kordofan. (48) Although, because of internal developments in Sinnār, Abū Likaylik left Kordofan in 1175/1761-2, the Funj probably continued to exercise an informal hegemony at least in eastern and central Kordofan. (49)

Isāwī and the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt are said to have retreated north westwards to their base in the

(46) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 376, and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 46.

(47) See above 129.

(48) On the career of Abū Likaylik, see Busaylī (ed.) Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 24-6; MacMichael, History, 11, 366-7; A.E. Robinson, "Abu el Kaylik, the Kingmaker of the Fung of Sennar", American Anthropologist, new series, XXXI, 1929, 232-64 and Holt, Modern History of the Sudan, 21-2.

(49) Busaylī (ed.) Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 24; MacMichael History, 11, 366 and Holt, Modern History of the Sudan, 26.



area between Kāja and Katūl, after their final defeat by the Funj. (50) It was probably about this time that some of the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt of Kordofan made their peace with the Keira sultan who gave them a hākūra at Jugujugu, just east of al-Fāshir, where they still live. (51) <sup>c</sup>Isāwī is said to have died in the Kāja/Katūl region after about ten years and the mashgham clan who were responsible for choosing the next Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt ruler, sent to Dār Fūr for Hāshim b. <sup>c</sup>Isāwī to come to take in Dār Fūr between the sultan and the title-holders.

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(50) Interview, <sup>c</sup>Awad Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, Khartoum North, 30.8.1969, from Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt tradition told him by his father, MacMichael's informant. But see above, 133 and Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, II, 208, who say that <sup>c</sup>Isāwī had been previously murdered by his uncle Mustafā after his unsuccessful campaign against Abu'l-Qāsim.

(51) Mudiriya, DP.66.K.1, (9), Gedid el Seil Omodia, note by C.G. Dupuis, 10.7.1928; see also Ādam al-Zayn, Al-Turāth al-sha<sup>c</sup>bī li-gabīla al-Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt, 20-5, reproducing two sultanic letters relating to the hākūra at Jugujugu. One of Tayrāb's wives was a daughter of the Keira sultan, the sister of Hāshim's mother. The Keira link, whatever its exact nature, and a period of residence in Dār Fūr, probably gave Hāshim an excellent understanding of the politics of the sultanate.

(53) Shuqayr, La République de Soudan, 1959 and MacMichael, Northern and Central Kordofan, 74-5 and 92.



his father's place. (52) Hāshim began what was to prove one of the most remarkable careers of political intrigue in the history of the Sudan by securing the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt base in western Kordofan; thus he drove the Bidayriya out of Jabal Bishāra Tayyib, while he opened wells at Sodirī in the Kāja/Katūl region. (53) Hashim was thus well placed to exploit the confused situation in central and eastern Kordofan, following the withdrawal of Abū Likaylik, and the tension in Dār Fūr between the sultan and the title-holders.

began to involve himself in the politics of Dār Fūr.

(52) The above account comes from <sup>c</sup>Awad Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, Khartoum North 30.8.1969, who also gave another interesting tradition, namely that Hāshim and Muhammad Tayrāb were cousins, since their mothers were sisters, daughters of the sultan of the Mīma, a small non-Arab tribe, who live around Wadā<sup>c</sup>a, south east of al-Fāshir. I also heard a similar tradition from Sabīl Ādam Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb, al-Fāshir 4.6.1970. This appears to contradict Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 375, that Tayrāb's mother was a Zaghāwī woman. The tradition would make better sense, in that chronologically Tayrāb appears to belong to an older generation than Hāshim, if one of Tayrāb's wives was a daughter of the Mīma sultan, the sister of Hāshim's mother. The Keira link, whatever its exact nature, and a period of residence in Dār Fūr, probably gave Hāshim an excellent understanding of the politics of the sultanate.

(53) Shuqayr, Ta<sup>2</sup>rikh al-Sūdān, 450 and MacMichael, Northern and Central Kordofan, 74-5 and 98.



This may be a reflection of In 1772 he moved on central Kordofan, probably with military help from Tayrāb. The Funj were too weak to resist and Hāshim was able to occupy al-Ubayyid without resistance. (54) For the next eight years, until 1194/1780, when he was driven back to the Tayrāb Kāja/Katūl region by the Funj wazīr, Rajab b. Muḥammad, Hāshim dominated central Kordofan, although it would probably be too much to say that he ruled it. (55) Back in his base at Kāja/Katūl and excluded from central Kordofan, Hāshim began to involve himself in the politics of Dār Fūr.

There is evidence that in Dār Fūr about this time, tension was growing between Tayrāb and the title-holders, in particular the awlād Ahmad Bukr. Tayrāb's many sons, the awlād al-Sultān, were accused of making a nuisance of themselves and of exploiting the people. (56)

(54) Murray, Life and Writings, 425, from Bruce's Sinnār diary 1.8.1772. There can be little doubt that Bruce was referring to Hāshim's invasion, although he mentions neither Hāshim nor the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt. Bruce says further that the Fur army advanced from Rīl, which suggests a large measure of Keira involvement in the invasion; see also Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 209.

(55) Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūṭat Kātib al-Shūna, 31 and Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 209.

(56) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 74, Darfour, 56 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 447-8.



This may be a reflection of attempts by Tayrāb to restrict the power of the awlād Ahmad Bukr in favour of his own sons, a trend further strengthened when he made his son Ishāq khalīfa with his own shadow court. (57)

It has been suggested that Tayrāb was prompted to invade Kordofan as a convenient method of removing from Dār Fūr the awlād Ahmad Bukr and the title-holders opposed to him and thus assuring the succession of his son. (58) But the immediate cause was probably the trouble that Hāshim was causing in eastern Dār Fūr. Hāshim was probably continuing the policy of his father and grandfather in involving himself in Dār Fūr - he seems to have been incapable of resisting a political intrigue - but he may also have been worried by Tayrāb's conquests in eastern Dār Fūr. Probably about 1783 Hāshim's followers began to raid into eastern Dār Fūr, attacking Tayrāb's slaves, the Turūj, and the Arab nomads in the area and on one occasion reaching as far as Rīl. (59) Hāshim is also said to have raised a mercenary force of ten thousand men, recruited from

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(57) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 75, Darfour, 57; Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 447 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 375-6.

(58) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 86, Darfour, 68 and Holt, Modern History of the Sudan, 26.

(59) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 376 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 450.

Hāshim as Ẓī l-im 'amīl, "my cousin", see above, 159.



Danāqla, Shāiqiya, Kabābīsh and Rizayqāt, which included slaves.

(60) Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt tradition records two battles fought between Hāshim's men and the Keira forces, in both of which the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt were successful. The most famous battle was one fought at Jabal al-Hilla, some twenty miles west of the modern Dār Fūr/Kordofan boundary on the al-Fāshir/al-Nuhūd road. (61)

Tayrāb soon faced disgruntl After a half-hearted attempt to reach a peaceful settlement, Tayrāb collected an army and marched on Kordofan. (62) while a conspiracy to assassinate

the sultan, led by the sultan The campaign of Tayrāb was very successful. Hāshim made no serious attempt to resist the Dār Fūr host, but fled to his Shāiqiya allies in Old Dongola details, was probably yet another episode in the conflict

(60) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 84, Darfour, 67.

(61) <sup>c</sup>Awad Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, interview, Khartoum North 30.8.1969, who gave the tradition that some three or five years after the battle at Jabal al-Hilla, Tayrāb gathered a huge army and marched on Kordofan; an army so huge that when it camped it drank the wells dry. This refer presumably to the invasion of 1200/1785-6, so we may date Hāshim's raids into Dār Fūr in the period, 1781-1785.

(62) For the preparations for the campaign and the order of march, see Shuqayr, Ta'rīḥ al-Sūdān, 449-50. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 86, Darfour, 69, quotes the letter, or more probably an imaginative reconstruction, from Tayrāb to Hāshim protesting against the raids. An interesting point is Tayrāb addresses Hāshim as Yā ibn <sup>c</sup>ammī, "my cousin", see above, 159.



where he continued to scheme for a Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt empire in Kordofan. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of Tayrāb's advance - he may have reached as far as the Nile - but the campaign was far more than a mere raid, since it marked the beginning of nearly forty years of Keira rule in Kordofan. (63) However far the army may have reached, it would seem that Tayrāb soon faced disgruntled troops; the Fur elements in the heterogenous army were anxious to return to their homes after a year in Kordofan, while a conspiracy to assassinate the sultan, led by the amīn <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Barqū, a father-in-law of the sultan, was discovered, only just in time, and <sup>c</sup>Alī executed. (64) This conspiracy, although we have no further details, was probably yet another episode in the conflict between Tayrāb and the awlād Ahmad Bukr. But the sultan, who was probably an elderly man, was growing ill and began the long journey back to Dār Fūr.

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(63) Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 451, who says Tayrāb fought the <sup>c</sup>Abdallāb near Omdurman, and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 46.

(64) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 88, Darfour, 70, and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 451.

(66) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 93, Darfour, 76 and Nachtigal, Sahara and Sudan, 111, 377-8.

(67) On Muhammad Kurra's earlier career, see below, 190-2. As liyaḍ kurri, or premier wife, Kinana would probably have had considerable political influence; more if she, as would be likely, came from a powerful tribal ruling family.



### The Succession Crisis at Barā.

Kurra's help. (68) Kurra reached Barā on his way home, but it was clear that he was a dying man and so the army encamped there. (65) Realising his condition, Tayrāb wrote to his son, Ishāq, telling him to come immediately to Kordofan, leaving his own son, Khalīl b. Ishāq in charge of Dār Fūr. (66)

But the news that Tayrāb was dying began to be known in the camp and factions to support the possible candidates were starting to form. Muhammad Kurra, an eunuch and thus able to visit the harīm, discussed the situation with the liyaḥ kuuri Kināna. (67) Kināna wanted

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(65) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 88, Darfūr, 70 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 376, but Slatin, Fire and Sword, 43, says that Tayrāb was poisoned at Omdurman by his wife, Khadīja, at the suggestion of the title-holders. The following description of the succession crisis at Barā, which I have given at length is based mainly on al-Tūnisī's vivid account. Al-Tūnisī could well have derived some of his information from eye witnesses, such as Ibrāhīm b. Ramād or Muhammad Kurra. Nachtigal's account of the crisis is more confused, but does not substantially disagree with that of al-Tūnisī.

(66) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 93, Darfūr, 76 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 377-8.

(67) On Muhammad Kurra's earlier career, see below, 190-2. As liyaḥ kuuri, or premier wife, Kināna would probably have had considerable political influence; more if she, as would be likely, came from a powerful tribal ruling family.



her son, Habīb b. Muhammad Tayrāb, as sultan and asked for Kurra's help. (68) Kurra pointed out the problem of the awlād Ahmad Bukr and seems to have implied that <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad Bukr was a more probable candidate. (69) Kurra therefore suggested to Kināna that they throw the weight of their support behind <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān in return for which <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān would marry Kināna, who could thus continue as liyaḥ kuuri and since <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had no children of his own, Habīb could be nominated as his successor or khalīfa. (70)

In the crisis that followed it appears that <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had another attractive qualification, besides being a son of the great sultan. He was nicknamed, al-yatīm, "the orphan" - an allusion to his penurious early life and to the fact that he had no children; he was in effect something of a political nonentity. (71)

(68) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 93, Darfour, 77.

(69) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 94, li-<sup>C</sup>anahu huwa sāhib al-dawla ba<sup>C</sup>d al-sultān Tayrāb; translated by Perron, Darfour, 77, as "car à lui reviendra l'empire après le Sultan Tayrab".

This is no doubt a reference to the famous oath sworn by the title-holders to Ahmad Bukr; see above, 124.

(70) It seems that Habīb had a party of supporters, Nachtigal Sahara und Sudan, 111, 378.

(71) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 94, Darfour, 77.



Since much of the previous fifty years of Dār Fūr history had been concerned with fierce fighting between different branches of the Keira family or clan, the significance of a sultan having few or many sons was considerable, since he and his sons, by virtue of the sultan's growing monopoly on the sources of power, would create new family groups. In competing for the very limited number of positions of power and access to politically significant resources such as land, arms and horses, the new families with the sultan to back them would tend to drive out into the background the older families; thus it was in the interests of the latter to curtail the growth of the former as much as possible. In a different context, a similar process appears to have been going on under Muhammad Tayrāb with the supersession of the old ruling families, as among the Berti and Birged, by the sultan's nominees.

Kurra then approached <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān with the plan. In return for Kurra and Kināna's support, the prospective sultan agreed to give the eunuch the title, abbo shaykh daali, the most powerful slave title in the hierarchy.

Meanwhile Tayrāb, who was slowly sinking, called together his amins, the leading title-holders; they were <sup>C</sup>Alī b. Jāmi<sup>C</sup>, the patron or owner of Muhammad Kurra, Hasaballāh Jirān, a noted military leader, Ibrāhīm b. Ramād, the abbo shaykh daali <sup>C</sup>Abdallāh Jūta and one unnamed

birth, which carries no particular stigma in Fūr society.

Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, III, 423 describes one "Bachutta" as abbo shaykh daali to sultan Abu'l-Qāsim.

(73) Al-Tūsil, *Tashīl*, 95, *Introduz*, 79.



amīn. (72) To each amīn, Tayrāb gave a specific task; to ʿAlī b. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>, to take the army back to Dār Fūr and hand it over to Ishāq; Hasaballāh to take charge of the camels and other animals; the abbo shaykh daali to take charge of the royal family and women and the unnamed amīn was given charge of the weapons and clothes. (73) The assembled amīns swore to obey Tayrāb's last wishes and wept to see him dying. The scene was made more poignant since they all, except for the abbo shaykh daali, were sons-in-law of the sultan. Then Tayrāb, perhaps the greatest of the Keira sultans, died.

When Tayrāb was dead, Kināna gave Muhammad Kurra the dead sultan's rosary, handkerchief, seal and amulet to take to ʿAbd al-Rahmān as proof of the sultan's death. The sultan's body was then embalmed in him

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- (72) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 95, Darfūr, 79. On Hasaballāh Jirān, see Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 377. Ibrāhīm b. Ramād was a member of the Konyunga Fur, see above 34; he was said to have been of illegitimate birth, hence his nickname, ramād, "ashes". (interview, Sabīl Ādam Yaʿqūb, al-Fāshir 4.6.1970). He held the title, malik al-nuhās, "king of the drum" and was also abbo soning doralā and abbo konyunga; see Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 389, reading abbo konyunga for Kuningawi and Shugayr, Taʿrīkh al-Sūdān, 456. He was in all a very powerful man despite his illegitimate birth, which carries no particular stigma in Fur society.
- (73) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 95, Darfūr, 79. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 423 describes one "Dachutta" as abbo shaykh daali to sultan Abu'l-Qāsim.
- (73) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 95, Darfūr, 79.



preparation for its journey back to Dār Fūr, where it was to be buried at the royal cemetery at Turra in Jabal Marra. But <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān was obviously still very unsure of his position, since he took Tayrāb's possessions to his elder brother, Rīz b. Ahmad Bukr, who appears, at least nominally, to have been head of the awlād Ahmad Bukr. When Tayrāb's death was announced, he went with his brothers, Rīfā and Tāhir, to the dead sultan's encampment. (74)

Now that the news of the death of the sultan had leaked out and the decisive moment passed, the amīns appear to have doubted that they could carry out Tayrāb's wishes in face of opposition from the awlād Ahmad Bukr. But <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Jami<sup>c</sup> decided to make the attempt and ordered Muhammad Kurra to go to his son, Muhammad b. <sup>c</sup>Alī Dokumi and tell him to collect the army in front of the sultan's encampment. (75) But now Muhammad Kurra was able to play his own game, since he went and told Muhammad b. <sup>c</sup>Alī that his father wanted him to assemble the soldiers outside the encampment of the awlād Ahmad Bukr. Kurra then returned to the father and told him

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(74) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 96, Darfour, 83; but Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 377, implies that only Tāhir and <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, of the awlād Ahmad Bukr, were in Kordofan, but it seems unlikely that Tayrāb would leave potential enemies behind in Dār Fūr.

(75) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 96, Darfour, 83; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 377 describes <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Jami<sup>c</sup> as a supporter of Ishāq.



that his son had drawn the troops up outside the awlād Ahmad Bukr camp. To <sup>C</sup>Ali, of course, this seemed the final betrayal by his son and he is said to have committed suicide by taking poison in disgust. (76) Following the disappearance from the scene of their strongest member, the other amīns began to lose heart and left the dead sultan's encampment to rejoin the various contingents they commanded. The attempt to carry out the wishes of Tayrāb had failed and the contest now lay (78) among the awlād Ahmad Bukr.

The situation in the camp seems now to have become very tense. The army at Bāra was divided into three factions; first, there were the soldiers who were agitating for an end to the crisis and a speedy return to Dār Fūr and to their number probably belonged many of the title-holders whose positions were in some sense in suspense until a new sultan emerged. On the other hand there were at least two factions among the Keira, from one of which the new sultan must come, the awlād Ahmad Bukr and their nephews, the other awlād al-salātīn, namely the sons of Muhammad Tayrāb, <sup>C</sup>Umar Lal, Muhammad Dawra and Abu'l-Qāsim. And in Dār Fūr there was Ishāq, who commanded a considerable following

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(76) But Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 383, says that <sup>C</sup>Ali b. Jāmi<sup>C</sup>, after resigning his position as vazīr, died in the reign of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān; however, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 394, there is reference to another suicide by poison by a title-holder who had failed politically.



particularly among the Zaghāwa through his mother's membership of a Zaghāwa ruling family and who would resist any nominee put forward by the army in Kordofan. ~~too was rejected by~~

~~the awlad al-salātīn because~~ There now followed the intervention of the fugarā', and 'ulamā' in their characteristic role of mediators. (77) Some of the title-holders, in order to solve the deadlock, asked them to go to the awlād Ahmad Bukr and ask them to choose one of their number as the next sultan. (78) The awlād Ahmad Bukr agreed and nominated Rīz, since he was apparently the eldest, but, for reasons not given by al-Tūnisi

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- (77) See above 125 for an earlier example of such an intervention.
- (78) Al-Tūnisi, Tashhīdh, 98; this refers back to the oath to Ahmad Bukr, since as Perron, Darfour, 84, nicely translates it the awlād Ahmad Bukr were "comme étant en possession de la promesse de leur père". See also Shuqayr, Tarīkh al-Sūdān, 452-3, where the crisis is somewhat telescoped; his account of Tayrāb greeting 'Abd al-Rahmān from his death-bed as the next sultan seems unlikely. Shuqayr however, describes the intervention of the 'ulamā'; the army commanders (ru'ūs al-īaysh), and the title-holders (al-a'wān), held a council (maillīs), in the presence of the 'ulamā', at which the awlād al-salātīn, which probably in this context included the awlād Ahmad Bukr, were made to swear on the Qur'ān to accept peacefully whoever was chosen as sultan by the maillīs. Here the choice is said to be made by the maillīs.



the awlād al-salātīn and the army rejected him.

Since Rīz had been rejected, Tāhir was nominated instead, but he too was rejected by the awlād al-salātīn because he had too many children; he was a threat to their future prospects. (79) Finally the awlād Ahmad Bulr proposed <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān who proved to be acceptable, probably in the absence of any stronger candidates. Thus <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān won the nomination of the title-holders and the army in Kordofan; he had still to neutralise the threat of the awlād al-salātīn and to bring Dār Fūr to his allegiance. (80)

(79) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 378; Tāhir is said to have emphasised his own unsuitability, since he had so many children and advised the choice of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān for the opposite reason.

(80) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 98, Darfūr, 85. Shuqayr, Dardūk, Taʿrīkh al-Sūdān, 453, says that after <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had been chosen, he was called to the mailis and told of their decision. The mailis then called each of the other candidates in turn and told them of the choice.

A similar incident occurred in northern Dār Fūr, when the future sultan was hospitably received by one Jiddaw, son of

(1) Muhammad Dardūk was an ancestor, four generations back, of the well-known Condominium sharīf of the Berti of al-Tuwaysha, Daw al-Dayt; Askall Basra, file 23, f. 51 and interview, Ahmad Ibo, Kattel 18.6.1970.



## chapter V.

THE MIDDLE YEARS: CONSOLIDATION.The Civil War in Dār Fūr.

From the various accounts of the succession crisis at Bāra, particularly that of al-Tūnisī, it appears that 'Abd Al-Rahmān, although one of the awlad Ahmad Bukr, was something of an outsider, and that it was almost his lack of kin and supporters that facilitated his succession to the sultanate. From the various accounts of the succession crisis at Bāra, particularly that of al-Tūnisī, it appears that 'Abd Al-Rahmān, although one of the awlad Ahmad Bukr, was something of an outsider, and that it was almost his lack of kin and supporters that facilitated his succession to the sultanate. (5) During his early life, 'Abd al-Rahmān was poor and unimportant and seems to have played little part in Keira politics. Al-Tūnisī, however, mentions two incidents of his early life; once, when travelling among the Berti tribe in north eastern Dār Fūr, 'Abd al-Rahmān was generously entertained by one Muhammad Dardōk, who prophesied that his guest would one day be sultan. (1) When this came about, Muhammad Dardōk was summoned and given, in reward, the right to collect the grain tax (iabbāya) from the Majānīn Arab<sup>s</sup> on the Dār Fūr/Kordofan border. A similar incident occurred in northern Dār Fūr, when the future sultan was hospitably received by one Jiddaw, son of

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(5) Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, III, 378 and Shugayr,

(1) Muhammad Dardōk was an ancestor, four generations back, of the well-known Condominium shartai of the Berti of al-Tuwaysha, Daw al-Bayt; Arkell Papers, file 23, f. 51 and interview, Ahmad Abbo, Kattāl 13.6.1970.



a former takanāwī; when <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān became sultan, Jiddaw was rewarded with the same title. (2) of the awlad al-salātīn

and of the title-holder. At the time of Tayrāb's campaign in Kordofan, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān was living as a fakī at the village of Kerio, just south of al-Fāshir, with his friend Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Fūtūwī. (3) It is said that he was so poor that he could afford only one wife; this was the celebrated Umm Būza, a girl from the Beigo tribe in south-eastern Dār Fūr and mother of the future sultan, Muhammad al-Fadl. (4) When it was known in Dār Fūr that Tayrāb was dying at Bāra, Mālik advised his friend to go and join his brother in Kordofan. (5) Their shaykhs agreed to supply

(2) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 99-100, Darfour, 88-9. (8)

(3) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 99-100, Darfour, 88-9; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 378 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 452.

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān and Mālik had grown up together; interview Ahmad Adam Abbo, Kattāl 18.6.1970. See also above, 130.

(4) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 99-100, Darfour, 88-9, describes Umm Būza as a slave girl; Abū Adam <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī, interview Nyala 29.6.1970, said she was the daughter of sultan Dōs of the Beigo, who is, however, not mentioned in the genealogy of the Beigo sultans given in MacMichael, History, 1, 81.

(5) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 378 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 452.

(8) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 103, Darfour, 91



he wrote to Ishāq asking After his nomination as sultan, <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān received the allegiance of the awlād al-salātīn and of the title-holders and gave away to them as presents the Treasury and women of his dead brother. (6) Once he had secured his position at Bāra, the new sultan quickly began to march back to Dār Fūr, travelling via al-Ubayyid, where he left a governor for the newly acquired province, and near the Nuba mountains, where he forcibly recruited (10) Nuba as slaves into his army. (7)

While on his journey back to Dār Fūr, <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān passed through the country of the Rizayqāt and Misīriya Arabs. Their shaykhs agreed to supply him with men to fight against Ishāq in return for whatever cattle, camels and arms they could seize as booty. (8)

But <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān was probably still feeling very insecure and in an attempt to avoid war,

(9) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 104, Darfour, 92-3.

(6) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 101, Darfour, 89 and see above 130.

(7) Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 453, calls the governor maḍūm; but this usage may be anachronistic, since the first maḍūms appear to come in the reign of sultan Muhammad al-Faḍl. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 103, Darfour, 91; the Arabic has Jabal Turūj, the French "Tourou"; I cannot locate a Nuba mountain of that name. On the Turūj, see above 144.

(8) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 103, Darfour, 91

Dār Fūr, it is pre-eminently the weapon of the Fūr.



he wrote to Ishāq asking him to declare his allegiance to the rightfully chosen sultan and promising in return to confirm him as khalīfa; Ishāq refused. (9) Reaching Dār Fūr the sultan met part of Ishāq's forces under the command of the slave, al-Hājj Muftāh, at Tabaldīya, north east of Nyala. In the battle that followed al-Hājj Muftāh was defeated, mainly, it is said, because of the skilful use of the safarog or throwing stick by <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān's men. (10)

Despite the defeat of al-Hājj Muftāh, Ishāq collected another army and met the sultan at Taldāwa, near Tayrāb's old fāshir at Rīl. However during the battle, Ishāq's main commander the abbo iabbay, Bahr who had been appointed wakīl or deputy to Ishāq by Tayrāb and who was by virtue of his position commander of the advance guard and heavy cavalry, deserted to <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān,

(9) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 104, Darfour, 92-3.

(10) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 378-9, where he is called "Haj Muflih" and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 104-6, Darfour, 92-3, where he is given the title, dada; this probably does not mean he was abbo daadinga, but simply a member of the daadinga. It is surprising that al-Tūnisī says they used the safarog and not the sambal, the iron throwing knife, see above 151-2. This may be evidence that <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had Fur support, since although the safarog is widely used in Dār Fūr, it is pre-eminently the weapon of the Fur.



and Ishāq's men broke and fled. (11) After this second defeat, Ishāq retreated northwards plundering and looting as he went and using the proceeds to pay for new supporters. The sultan, seemingly reluctantly, sent an army after him under the takanāwī Tumsāh, which was soundly beaten by Ishāq on the Wādī Bōwa, just north of Kutum. (12)

Once more <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān tried to bring to an end his nephew's resistance, this time sending another army north under his brother, the baasi Rīfā. Rīfā caught up with Ishāq in the Jabal <sup>C</sup>Utash region in the dār of the Banī Husayn Arabs, to the west of Kutum. Ishāq, who appears to have been an excellent soldier, laid an ambush in some low ground, promptly attacked Rīfā and drew him into it; the sultan's brother was killed and

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family affair. (15) <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, who had now taken the

(11) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 106-7, Darfour, 93-4, who says his account comes from an eye witness. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 379, records that <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān knowing that many of the title-holders around him secretly supported Ishāq induced Bahr to persuade Ishāq to confiscate their property in Dār Fūr; this of course made them anxious to see him as sultan.

(12) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 107-8, Darfour, 96 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 379, who says a fakī tried unsuccessfully to mediate.

(15) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 380; the episode is not mentioned elsewhere.



his army destroyed. (13)

Encouraged by his victory, Ishāq moved south to attack <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, but when he saw the size of his uncle's forces he hurriedly retreated towards Dār Zaghāwa, where he could hope to receive reinforcements from his maternal uncle, who was probably malik Mukhtār of the Dār Tuar Zaghāwa or one of his sons. (14) It was probably this Zaghāwa connexion of Ishāq's and the memory of Zaghāwa dominance in the state under Abu'l-Qāsim and Muhammad Tayrāb that was responsible for the majority of the Fur title-holders supporting <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān. Nachtigal also records the tradition that the Wadai sultan, Muhammad Sālih b. Jōda, sent an army to help Ishāq, who when he saw its size, sent it back, preferring to keep the war a Keira family affair. (15) <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, who had now taken the

(13) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 380, giving the places as "Okasch" and "Bani Hasen". There is an interesting example of the difference in the versions of our two sources; Nachtigal says the sultan sent his brother against Ishāq because he secretly wanted him out of the way, al-Tūnisī that the sultan was greatly disheartened by his brother's death.

(14) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 109, Darfour, 98 and M.J. Tubiana, personal communication. According to a tradition collected by Madame Tubiana, Mukhtār had accompanied Tayrāb on campaign in Kordofan.

(15) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 380; the episode is not mentioned elsewhere.



field himself, was however able to intercept his nephew before he could receive the expected reinforcements from Dār Zaghāwa. In the final battle, Ishāq was defeated and wounded, dying a few days later. Their leader dead, the title-holders who had fought for Ishāq made their submission to 'Abd al-Rahmān who pardoned them. (16)

#### Internal Developments and the Founding of al-Fāshir.

The tendencies towards centralisation which had marked the reign of Muhammad Tayrāb gained even further ground in that of his successor. But if Tayrāb had strengthened his position by conquest and administrative measures, his successor made use of Islam as his vehicle for consolidating and stabilising the position of the sultan in a state grown rapidly larger and wealthier.

Despite the successful conclusion of the civil war and the death of his rival, 'Abd al-Rahmān's

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(16) Al-Tūnisī, Taḥḥīdh, 110-1, Darfour, 99-100; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 380-1 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān,

453. The location of the final battle is doubtful;

al-Tūnisī gives Jarkū, جركو or "Guerkou", which the Cairo edition editors identify as Jarkul, north east of al-Fāshir, near Mellit. This would seem to be in the wrong direction if Ishāq was retreating from the south to meet his uncle in or near Dār Tuer; it could be Girgira wells, roughly on the Dār Tāma/Zaghāwa border, or just north of Shōba.



position in Dar Fur, in the early years of his reign at least, does not appear to have been very secure. He had been chosen as sultan by the title-holders and supported by the Fur for largely negative reasons, and probably did not yet command a party of adherents of his own. <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had to build up a network of officials and title-holders loyal to himself and to displace in the process officials of the old régime.

Thus the new sultan made his friend, Mālik b. <sup>C</sup>Alī al-Fūtūwī, wazīr and guardian of all the Fulani in Dār Fūr and gave him extensive hawākīr around al-Fāshir, particularly at Kerio. (17) Muḥammad b. <sup>C</sup>Alī Dokami, son of Tayrāb's wazīr, <sup>C</sup>Alī b. Jāmi<sup>C</sup>, was also made a wazīr. (18) The abbe iabbay Bāhr, despite his services to the sultan in the civil war, was later dismissed, executed and replaced by the Musabba<sup>C</sup>awī, Ahmad Tumbukei, who received the Tawīla district as an hākūra. (19)

<sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had to contend with various conspiracies against him. It seems that early on in his reign, the ḥivāḥ ḥurri Kināna, who with Muḥammad Kurra had played some part in ensuring <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān's

(17) Interview, Ahmad Adan Abbo, Kattāl 18.6.1970.

(18) Nachatigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 383.

(19) Mailis, DP.FD.66.K.1.5. Fasher District. Tawila Omodia, G.E. Moore, note 13.2.1933.



accession as sultan at Bāra, began to plot to replace him with her son, Ḥabīb b. Muḥammad Tayrāb, because the sultan had failed to carry out his promise to make her son khālifa. She was able to gain the support of some of the title-holders, but the scheme was betrayed and Kināna executed; Ḥabīb was imprisoned in Jabal Marra. (20) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān also had Ishāq's sister, Umm Būza, executed for her part in the civil war and did away with various sons of Muḥammad Tayrāb. (21) It was a necessary part of the process of securing his position.

Our sources are very inadequate on the internal reforms of the new sultan, although they were obviously of great importance. The new sultan who was about sixty years of age when he became ruler had spent most of his life as a fāḥī; not surprisingly his reign was marked by a definite impetus towards the Islamisation of

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(20) Al-Tūnisī, Taḥḥīḍh, 122-5, Darfūr, 114-7.

(21) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 382-3; the executions of Kināna and Umm Būza are a further indication of the important part played by the royal woman in Keira dynastic politics.

(22) Al-Tūnisī, Taḥḥīḍh, 102-3, Darfūr, 89-90.



the institutions of the state. (22)

Abd al-Rahmān seems to have deliberately acted against the traditions and customs of the Fūr. While still in Kordofan he abolished the seclusion ritual whereby the new sultan had to stay indoors for seven days before he was brought out by the old women, the habōbāt (Fūr, abonga) to begin the long and complicated accession ceremony. (23) One of the sultan's less successful reforms was his attempt, in 1795, to prohibit the drinking of marisa, which despite the Islamic ban against intoxicants was and is widely drunk in Dār Fūr. Despite the prohibition, marisa continued to be drunk, even it was

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(22) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 385, gives his age as sixty when he became sultan; Browne, Travels, 212, who met him, estimated his age as between fifty and fifty-five; his father, Ahmad Bukr, must have died at least forty years before. There is considerable agreement on the dates of Abd al-Rahmān's reign, Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 385, 1786-1799; Browne, Travels, 279, and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 452, date his accession to 1202/1787-8. Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 200, appear most accurate when they say Tayrāb died in 1200/1785-6, and was succeeded in Dār Fūr by Ishāq, who after losing the civil war was succeeded by his uncle in 1204/1789-90; this latter date would appear to be confirmed by Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 381, stating that the civil war lasted three years. (23) Al-Tūnisi, Tashhīdh, 102-3, Darfour, 89-90.



said, in the sultan's harīm. (24)

Al-Tūnisī refers in vague terms to the various reforms carried out by 'Abd al-Rahmān; he cut certain taxes, removed oppressive officials, established security on the trade routes and generally increased the prosperity of the country. (25) Further to strengthen his position and reward him for his help during the succession crisis, the sultan gave Muhammad Kurra the rank of abbo shaykh daali. (26)

Browne, who was in Dār Fūr during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān, testifies to the widespread influence of the fugarā' and 'ulama', but his remarks suggest that although the Muslim holy men as a class had a considerable measure of esteem, they had in practice little power. (27) A remark of Browne in fact reveals

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(24) Browne, Travels, 291; al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 103, Darfour, 115 and Felkin, Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, XIII, 1884-5, 218; there is an amusing anecdote on this theme in Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 473-4.

(25) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 103-4, Darfour, 115-6.

(26) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 105, Darfour, 116 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 383.

(27) Browne, Travels, 276, "When manifest injustice appears in his (i.e. the sultan's) decisions, the Fukara or ecclesiasts, express their sentiments with some boldness, but their opposition is without any appropriate object and consequently its effects are inconsiderable."



an underlying truth about the position of the Keira sultans until the death of 'Alī Dīnār in 1916; namely that there were very few checks on the sultan's power if he had the personality and ability to manipulate the system around him,

"The monarch indeed can do nothing contrary to the Koran, but he may do more than the law established therein will authorise, and as there is no council to control or even to assist him, his power may well be termed despotic. He speaks in public of the soil as his personal property, and of the people as little else than his slaves." (28)

Thus although 'Abd al-Rahmān, like his brother before him, appears to have appointed qādis, their judicial functions seem to have been limited to advising the sultan on the shari'ah. (29) In fact throughout the history of the sultanate, judicial authority was kept firmly in the hands of the sultan and the senior title-holders. Serious cases such as homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, large-scale theft, inter-tribal disputes and occasionally adultery were tried before the sultan or the senior administrative officials such as the aba diimang, aba uumang

(28) Browne, Travels, 276.

(29) Browne, Travels, 297.



or later the magdūms. And they judged as much by customary law as by shari<sup>c</sup>a. (30) But it does seem that <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had some sort of panel of judicial assessors from the fugarā<sup>j</sup> to advise him, although it is not clear whether all the members of the panel had the title qādī. The leading members of the panel included the wazīr Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Fūtūwī and <sup>c</sup>Izz al-Dīn b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hamīd, a member of the influential Jawāmi<sup>c</sup> a fugarā<sup>j</sup> family who held extensive hawākīr at Jadīd al-Sayl, just north of al-Fāshir, and who was described by al-Tūnisī as qādī to the sultan and head of all the qādīs in Dār Fūr. (31) Other members of the panel were Muhammad

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(30) Mudīrīya, Western District Handbook; Boustead and Beaton collected detailed accounts of the judicial system under the sultans for every shartayāt in the areas formerly ruled by the aba diimang and the aba uumang.

(31) Interviews, Ahmad Adam Abbo, Kattāl 18.6.1970; Ahmad Amīn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hamīd, al-Fāshir 7.5.1970; Mahmūd and Muhammad Tijānī <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Majīd, al-Fāshir 41.5.1970, all descendants of Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 117, Darfour, 108; Muhammad Layīn Taqī al-Dīn, a descendant of <sup>c</sup>Izz al-Dīn, interview al-Fāshir 14.6.1970, who also kindly allowed me to photograph three documents relating to the family hākūra at Jadīd al-Sayl, two from sultan Muhammad al-Husayn and one from <sup>c</sup>Alī Dīnār; he also possesses a Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān written about 1740 by <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hamīd, <sup>c</sup>Izz al-Dīn's father.



Dardök, from the Berti tribe, shaykh Tāhir Abū Jamūs, the leading fāki of the Bornu community of Manawāshī, and another unnamed qādi. But it seems that the final decision always rested with the sultan although he would generally follow their rulings on shari<sup>c</sup>a. (32)

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān was noted for his generosity both to the fugara' of Dār Fūr and to learned holy men from outside the sultanate. As we have seen he gave hawākīr to Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī and other members of his family; he also gave an hakura at Simayn near Wadā<sup>c</sup>a to the fāki Muhammad from the Mīma tribe, a cripple and a noted calim, who taught the sultan's children. (33) Al-Tūnisī vividly describes how his father obtained the sultan's favour; when <sup>c</sup>Umar al-Tūnisī first reached Dār Fūr he stayed at the main commercial centre of the sultanate, Kobbei with the fāki

(32) On Muhammad Dardök, see above, 172. Shaykh Tāhir built the mosque at Manawāshī, where sultan Ibrāhīm was buried after the battle there and where the shaykh is also buried; interview, Fadl Mūsā, al-Fāshir 3.5.1970.

(33) Unfortunately the family papers of the descendants of Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī had been destroyed by fire the year before I first visited Dār Fūr. Interview, Ādam Muhammad Muhammadayn, al-Fāshir 16.6.1970, a descendant of fāki Muhammad, who kindly allowed me to photograph the original letter from <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān to his ancestor.



Hasan b. <sup>c</sup>Awwūda. (34) There, at the invitation of a group of the local fugarā<sup>2</sup>, he taught part of the famous lawbook, the Mukhtasar of Khalīl; soon his reputation for learning reached Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī, who spoke of him to the sultan, who sent for him. He was very well received by the sultan who gave him female slaves and assigned him a house with the rākī Nūr al-Ansārī, husband of the mayram Hawwā<sup>3</sup>. <sup>c</sup>Umar's scholarship was in great demand; he read the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī with Nūr al-Ansārī, ḥadīth with the sultan and also taught various members of the family of Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī. (35) <sup>c</sup>Umar al-Tūnisī obviously made an excellent impression on the sultan, since the latter granted him an ḥākūra at Gerli, on the western slopes of Jabal Marra, but the rākī was not happy with the area, since the Fur on the estate could not speak Arabic and he could not speak Fur, so he was given another site bounded by the villages of Jultū, al-Dabba

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(34) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 106, Darfour, 116; the whole passage gives a vivid indication of the state of Islamic learning in Dār Fūr at the time. On the al-Tūnisī family, see R.S. O'Fahey, "Al-Tūnisī's travels in Dār Fūr", Bulletin of the Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan, V/1&2, 969, 66-74.

(35) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 106-7, Darfour, 116-7.



and Umm Ba'ūda. (36)

Just as the earlier campaigns of conquest of Sulaymān Solongdungoo and Ahmad Bukr had resulted in the sultans moving their fāshirs down to the lower western slopes of Jabal Marra, so the campaigns of Umar Lel against the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt and of Tayrāb in eastern Dār Fūr and then Kordofan had taken the fāshirs east and north-east of the mountains. This move took the sultan away from the Fur heartlands which were to the west and south-west of the mountains, and if it did not directly weaken the link between the sultans and the Fur, it made the former more open to external influences, to traders and holy men from Egypt and the western sudanic region and even to the first European visitors and contacts. It led to a strengthening of the Islamic element in the state and remotely involved Dār Fūr in the wider culture of the northern Nilotic Sudan. This change should not be exaggerated; the Keira sultans remained Fur and Fur-speaking, and the Kunjara Fur, at least, dominated the

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(36) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 67-9, Darfūr, 48-9; giving the text of the letter of grant, which, comparing it with others I have seen, seems quite authentic. I cannot locate the site of the second grant, but Jultū might be Guldo south of Gerli, but it is still a Fur area.



ruling hierarchy until the downfall of <sup>C</sup>Alī Dīnār in 1916, but the move to the east does appear to mark a definite change in the cultural and economic life of the sultanate. The older element re-emerged when the Keira sultans took refuge in Jabal Marra among the mountain Fur, the people least affected by Islamisation or Arabisation within the state, after the invasion of al-Zubayr Pasha in 1874.

This process of change within the sultanate was consolidated when <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān about 1206/1791-2 moved his fāshir to rahad Tandalti, east of Jabal Marra, on the borders of the savanna and the semi-desert. (37)

The Tandalti region was an important one; it lay near the main west-east route as it came out of the Kawra pass through Jabal Marra, just as Kabkābiya and Shōba (the latter the fāshir of Muhammad Tayrāb before he moved east to Rīl), lay near the western end of the same pass. It was near the commercial centre of Kobbei, the Dār Fūr terminus of the darb al-arba<sup>C</sup>īn; yet it was not too far north for the sultan, his officials, servants and soldiers to be fed from the rain agriculture of the area or from his hawākīr

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(37) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 103, Darfour, 114 and see above, 21; rahad, a shallow depression in which rainwater collects.

(40) Arkell, Report, file 13, note, Ahmed Isma al-Kinānī.



the in Jabal Marra and Dār Fongoro. (38)

Before <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān moved there, Tandalti had been the centre or capital for the northern province, dār al-rīq, and the home of the takanāwī, the governor of the province. With the move of the sultan to Tandalti, which became known as al-Fāshir, "the Fāshir", the takanāwī moved to near Kutum. (39)

After the defeat of Ishāq, <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān at first stayed west of Jabal Marra with his fāshir at Gerli on the lower slopes of Jabal Marra, south-west of Kabkābiya. (40) Although al-Fāshir was destined to be the Keira capital until the end of the sultanate and is still the province capital, this does not mean that the sultans spent all their time there; <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān appears to have continued to move from one centre to another within the sultanate. Browne says that while he was in Dār Fūr, between 1793 and 1796, he saw the sultan first at al-Hajlīj, then at Tīna and

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(38) See Browne, Travels, 301; the Fur shartayāt in Jabal Marra and Dār Fongoro were directly ruled by the sultans through the shartais and an official, called forē. (see glossary). They were known as rota kuuring,

"wells or estates of the sultan" and were obliged to provide food for the court; Dār Fongoro in particular supplied honey. Mudiriya, Western District Handbook.

(39) Arkell Papers, file 13, folio 47, Ahmad Adam al-Kinānī and Mailis, DP.FD.66.K.15, Azagarfa omodia, note, Bredin, 22.2.1931.

(40) Arkell Papers, file 13, note, Ahmed Adam al-Kinānī.



then at Tandaltī, where he spent about a year, but both at al-Hajlīj and Tīna are near to al-Fāshir. (41)

Muhammad Kurra, Musallim and Kordofan.

It was probably about the same time as he moved his fāshir to Tandaltī that ʿAbd al-Rahmān turned his attention to Kordofan. When ʿAbd al-Rahmān had returned to Dār Fūr to fight Ishāq, he had left a governor and a garrison at al-Ubayyid. But as soon as the sultan was out of the province, Hāshim b. ʿIsāwī al-Musabbaʿawī returned, drove out ʿAbd al-Rahmān's governor and set himself up once more as ruler in central Kordofan. The Keira sultan, however, was determined to hold on to Kordofan and to this end sent Muhammad Kurra there with an army.

Muhammad Kurra, a figure of comparable importance in some ways to Muhammad Abū Likaylik in Sinnār, was from 1200/1735-6 to his rebellion and death in Rajab 1219/October-November 1804, the most powerful man in Dār Fūr after the sultan. His

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(41) Browne, Travels, 239. It seems that the sultans kept a summer palace, fāshir fove, "fāshir on the mountain" at Jabal Nyurnya in Jabal Marra, G.B. Messedaglia, "Le Dar-For pendant la gestion du feu Général Gordon Pasha", Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie, III/1 May 1888, 45.



origins are disputed and he is variously described as a slave or a freeman. (42) As a young man he entered the service of Tayrāb in the korkwa. (43) From the korkwa he appears to have moved to the soming dogala, probably as an official rather than a simple page. (44) Kurra was accused of interfering with one of Tayrāb's many concubines and to avert the wrath of the sultan and to demonstrate his loyalty and innocence he castrated himself. (45) Probably as a result of this episode Kurra was given by the sultan to the wazīr <sup>C</sup>Alī b. Jāmī<sup>C</sup>, who later made him malik or head of his household soming dogala. (46) Sometime after, he was made

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(42) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 63, Darfour, 45 denies the story then current that Kurra was born of a palace slave and says he was born a freeman. Al-Tūnisī's information is of particular value since he met Kurra. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 383, says he was Tunjur; Abū Adam <sup>C</sup>Abdullāhī, interview Nyala 29.6.1970, called him a Tarjāwī (plural, Turūj), see above 144. Kurra means "tall" in Fur.

(43) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 79, Darfour, 62.

(44) On the korkwa and soming dogala, see above 145 and glossary.

(45) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 80, Darfour, 63. Abū Adam <sup>C</sup>Abdullāhī, interview Nyala 29.6.1970, claimed that Kurra had fathered fifteen children before he castrated himself; he also gave lofe as the Fur for eunuch.

(46) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 82, Darfour, 65.



malik al-koriat or "king of the royal grooms". (47)

extension of dar al- Kurra accompanied his master on Tayrāb's campaign to Kordofan and after the death of the sultan played an important part in the succession crisis where he was instrumental in neutralising the opposition of Tayrāb's amīns to the candidature of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān. (48) As a result of his activities, Kurra indirectly caused the death of his master and earned the undying hatred of his son, Muhammad b. <sup>C</sup>Alī Dokūmī. It seems that <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān had promised Kurra the title, abbo shaykh daali, in return for his support, and after the civil war, the sultan kept his promise. As abbo shaykh daali, Kurra ruled the eastern province of the sultanate, dār daali or dār al-sabāh, now greatly enlarged as a result of Tayrāb's campaigns, and he established himself at Abū al-Judūl, south-east of al-Fāshir. (49)

The position of Kordofan within the administrative structure of the Keira state is not very clear. <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān or Tayrāb appear not to have constituted Kordofan into a separate new province, but

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who say that Kurra was sent east with only two hundred (47) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 83, Darfour, 66.

(48) See above 164-9.

(49) See further, glossary; Abū al-Judūl is marked on the map as Umm Judūl.



to have regarded it, at least theoretically as an extension of dar al-rīh and dar daali, which were in some way regarded as extending now as far as the Nile. Thus, and again in theory, the governors of the older provinces were responsible for the new acquisition. (50)

On the orders of the sultan, Kurra, probably in 1206/1791-2, marched east and met and defeated Hāshim and the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt at Umm Jinayhāt near Bāra. Hāshim, once more, fled to his Shāiqīya friends on the Nile. (51)

(50) Mailis, DP.FD.66.K.15 Azagarfa omodia, note Bredin, 22.2.1931 and Mailis, DP.FD.66.K.I.12, Turra dimligia, note, Lomax, 13.1.1934, "Previous to the days of sultan Muhammad al-Faḍl the whole of the western district (i.e. northern province) was divided into four large shartaiships; Kussa in the south, then Mala, Keila and Beira in the north. These shartaiships each stretched as far as Fasher, and, theoretically at least, as far east as the Nile, in strips, one bordering on the other".

(51) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128, Darfour, 120, and Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211, who say that Kurra was sent east with only two hundred heavy cavalry, and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 383, who gives the place of the battle.

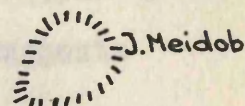
Dār Birged ..... tribal and/or administrative divisions

(s) ..... shartaīya

Dār Kerne ..... Administrative divisions



Dar Fur Administrative and Tribal Divisions, c. 1825.



Dār Zaghāwa ZAGHĀWA

Kobe Dār Dār  
Galla Tuar Dār Suwayni

Dār Qimr DĀR AL-TAKANĀWĪ [12 shartāyat]

Dār Awlīd Dār Beiri(s) Dār Berti

RQ IRINGA  
Dār Zayādīya

Dār Banī Ḥusayn

Girgit Sī(s)

Dār Madī(s)

Dār Fia(s)

Dār Beira(s)

Dār Mala(s) al-Fāshir

RQ DAALI

Dār Kerne(s)

FUR

RQ KUURING (6 shartāyat)  
Dār Birged(s)

RQ UUMQ (4 shartāyat)

Dār Berti(s)

RQ DIIMA  
(12 shartāyat)

FUR

RQ Turuj(s)

RQ Miri (Dajn) (s)

Dār Beigo (s)

Dār Banī Halba

Dār Fongoro  
(rō kuuring)

Dār  
Fallāta  
Dār  
Masalāt

BAQQĀRA

Dār Habbanīya

Dār Rizayqāt

Dār Taʿāṭsha

Dār Birged..... tribal and/or administrative divisions

(s) ..... shartāya

Dār Kerne ..... Administrative divisions



After the defeat of Hāshim, Kurra was joined by the malik al-nuḥās, Ibrāhīm b. Ramād, a distinguished Fur military commander who had served in Tayrāb's original Kordofan campaign, and the two commanders attacked the Banī Jarrār Arabs, who were among Hāshim's staunchest supporters. (52) Ibrāhīm was also abbo konyunga, and his appointment suggests that the sultan was using a leading member of the old title-holding class to check any ambitions that Kurra may have had. Events were to prove it was a wise precaution. (53)

recalled from Kordofan Kurra and Ibrāhīm seem to have governed Kordofan successfully and proved able to reconcile the interests of the Danāqla and Ja<sup>c</sup>aliyīn traders of Bāra, al-Ubayyid and elsewhere with those of the Keira state, so that, later, the rule of Dār Fūr in Kordofan was favourably remembered and contrasted with that of the Turco-Egyptians. (54)

journey through Kordofan Despite the activities of Kurra and Ibrāhīm, Hāshim did not give up his attempts to seize Kordofan from the Keira. In the summer of 1794, Browne saw five provincial officials publicly executed in al-Fāshir

ii, 212.

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(52) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211.

(53) On Ibrāhīm b. Ramād, see above, 167.

(54) See, for example, C. Cuny, Journal de Voyage du Docteur Ch. Cuny de Siout à el-Obeid, Paris 1858, 177; I. Pallme, Travels in Kordofan, London 1844, 14, and G.N. Lejean, "Le Haut-Nil et le Soudan", Revue de deux mondes, 1862, 854-82.



for being in treasonable correspondence with Hāshim. (55)

In the following year, 1795, Hāshim was still active in Kordofan; Browne watched a parade that year of troops in al-Fāshir who were to be sent as reinforcements to Kordofan, where, he says, over half the garrison had died from smallpox. During the parade, spoils, including slaves and cattle, taken in the fighting against Hāshim were displayed. (56)

In 1796 Ibrāhīm b. Ramād was recalled from Kordofan and replaced by Musallim. (57)

Musallim like Muhammad Kurra was a slave eunuch and a man of unflattering description; he later says that in 1797

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Musallim was in southern Dar Fūr, commanding his army.

(55) Browne, Travels, 223; when Browne arrived in Dār Fūr in 1793 he applied for permission to continue his journey through Kordofan to Ethiopia, but was told there was fighting there, Travels, 199.

(56) Browne, Travels, 228.

(57) Cadalvène and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 212. and said that like Muhammad Kurra he was a eunuch.

d. Douin, Histoire du Soudan Égyptien, 1894, p. 54.

the statement that Musallim was governor of Kordofan from 1803 only appears to be incorrect.

(59) Cadalvène and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 212. Hāshim spent the following years in the central region, involved in the confused politics of the area.



of some ability. (58) The main reason for Musallim being sent to Kordofan appears to be that Hāshim had once more entered the province. It is not clear how Musallim and Kurra divided the command in Kordofan between them. Musallim was ordered to deal once and for all with Hāshim, chasing him, if necessary, all the way to Egypt. Hāshim and the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt were once more defeated and driven out, and the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt ceased to be a threat to the Keira position in Kordofan until the death of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān. (59)

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(58) Browne met him in al-Fāshir in 1793 and gives an unflattering description; he later says that in 1794 Musallim was in southern Dār Fūr, campaigning, but met him again in al-Fāshir in the following year; Travels, 196, 203 and 222. He was reported as a black eunuch by J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, London 1819, 437 and by J.L. Holroyd, "Notes on a journey to Kordofan in 1836-7", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, IX/2, 1839, 176. Abū Ādam <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī, interview Nyala 29.6.1969, called him Musallim b. <sup>c</sup>Umar and said that like Muhammad Kurra he was a Tarjāwī. G. Douin, Histoire du Soudan Égyptien, Cairo 1944, I, 56, the statement that Musallim was governor of Kordofan from 1803 only appears to be inaccurate.

(59) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 212. Hāshim spent the following years in the Gezira region, involved in the confused politics of Sinnār.



Musallim may also have been sent to keep an eye on Muhammad Kurra, who appears never to have been entirely trusted by his sultan. Sometime after 1796, relations between <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān and his abbo shaykh daali, who was still in Kordofan, became strained. (60) The tension arose because Muhammad Kurra was accused of trying to make himself independent of the sultan in Kordofan. (61) Kurra's bid for independence, whatever its extent, illustrated the

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(60) The date of the dispute is not clear; Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, II, 213, date the recall of Kurra to 1799. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128, Darfūr, 120-1, says only that Kurra ruled in Kordofan for seven years before he was recalled. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 385, gives no date for Kurra's recall, but implies it occurred three years, i.e. 1212/1797-8, before <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān's death.

(61) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128, Darfūr, 120-1 says Kurra was innocent of the charge and that the sultan had been turned against him by Kurra's enemies at court. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 383, gives a much longer, but probably less trustworthy, version; Kurra refused to return to Dār Fūr several times and built himself a fortress on the east bank of the White Nile. <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān then sent the fākī Tāhir to Sinnār to ask the Funj Makk to attack Kurra's stronghold, which he did. But Kurra still refused to return to Dār Fūr.



same dangers for the Keira state as had Muhammad Abū Likaylik for Sinnār. Kordofan was too large a province and too populous and prosperous to be an independent command from the point of view of either Sinnār or Dār Fūr, since a governor could use the province's resources to try and create his own state or take over the home state. (62)

Finally <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān sent the wazīr Muhammad b. <sup>C</sup>Alī Dokūmī, a bitter enemy of Kurra, to bring the abbo shaykh daali back. Kurra made no attempt to resist and returned to Dār Fūr in disgrace. (63) Back in Dār Fūr Kurra was publicly disgraced, but not long afterwards was restored to favour. While Kurra was absent from Kordofan, Muhammad b. <sup>C</sup>Alī and Musallim continued to

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(62) On the role of Kordofan in Sinnār politics, see O.G.S. Crawford, The Fung Kingdom of Sennar, Gloucester 1951, 244-5. The career of Hāshim b. <sup>C</sup>Isāwī neatly illustrates this point. (63) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128, Darfūr, 120-1; Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 213, say that both Musallim and Kurra were taken back to Dār Fūr, but that the former was able to clear himself and was reinstated in Kordofan. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 384-5, records that Kurra's commanders refused to fight for him against the sultan, saying, "We are serving you loyally, but we cannot fight against the king, our master; his will is sacred for us".

(64) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 213.  
 (65) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 213.



rule the southern and northern parts of the province respectively. (64)

In 1215/1830-1 sultan <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān died and was succeeded by his fourteen year old son, Muhammad al-Fadl, whose accession was arranged by the now all powerful Muhammad Kurra. Hāshim b. <sup>c</sup>Isāwī, who had allied himself to the Abū Likaylik faction in Sinnār and who was at the time governing the southern Funj area from Alays on the White Nile on their behalf, thought he saw one more opportunity to seize control of Kordofan. He sent his youngest, and therefore presumably most expendable, son to Musallim, asking him to petition the new sultan that he might be allowed to end his days in peace in Kordofan. (65) Perhaps Hāshim was growing old and tired; perhaps it was a ruse; given his career, the latter seems more likely. Musallim and Muhammad b. <sup>c</sup>Ali obviously thought it a ruse, since they rebuffed Hāshim and made preparations to attack him. Hāshim is said to have made a last desperate appeal to all the supporters in of the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt cause in Kordofan to rally to him. Twelve thousand answered the appeal, it is said, but in the final battle in 1301, he and his forces were routed by the Dār Fūr army. It was the end of the "imperial pretensions" of the Musabba<sup>c</sup>āt in Kordofan, and Keira rule in the province was not challenged again until the Turco-Egyptian invasion twenty years later. <sup>(66)</sup> <sup>(67)</sup> <sup>(68)</sup> <sup>(69)</sup> <sup>(70)</sup> <sup>(71)</sup> <sup>(72)</sup> <sup>(73)</sup> <sup>(74)</sup> <sup>(75)</sup> <sup>(76)</sup> <sup>(77)</sup> <sup>(78)</sup> <sup>(79)</sup> <sup>(80)</sup> <sup>(81)</sup> <sup>(82)</sup> <sup>(83)</sup> <sup>(84)</sup> <sup>(85)</sup> <sup>(86)</sup> <sup>(87)</sup> <sup>(88)</sup> <sup>(89)</sup> <sup>(90)</sup> <sup>(91)</sup> <sup>(92)</sup> <sup>(93)</sup> <sup>(94)</sup> <sup>(95)</sup> <sup>(96)</sup> <sup>(97)</sup> <sup>(98)</sup> <sup>(99)</sup> <sup>(100)</sup> <sup>(101)</sup> <sup>(102)</sup> <sup>(103)</sup> <sup>(104)</sup> <sup>(105)</sup> <sup>(106)</sup> <sup>(107)</sup> <sup>(108)</sup> <sup>(109)</sup> <sup>(110)</sup> <sup>(111)</sup> <sup>(112)</sup> <sup>(113)</sup> <sup>(114)</sup> 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years later. (66)

Dār Fūr and the outside world.

In some ways 'Abd al-Rahmān's reign marked the apogee of Keira power and prestige. It was also in his reign that Dār Fūr began to be known to the outside world. Shuqayr records that 'Abd al-Rahmān wrote to the Ottoman sultan, sending presents of ivory and ostrich feathers, the latter a prized export from Dār Fūr. The Ottoman sultan wrote back, thanking him for his gifts and bestowing upon him the honorific, al-Rashīd, "the Just", which duly appeared upon the Dār Fūr sultan's seal. (67)

The learned world in Europe also began to hear something of Dār Fūr; the African Association, newly established in Britain to further exploration in Africa, sent in 1788 the American John Ledyard to Cairo, whence he was to begin the exploration of the Sahara. Ledyard died in Cairo after a few weeks, but not before he met Signor Rossetti, Consul for Venice in Cairo, who had trading connexions with Dār Fūr, and saw slaves from Dār Fūr for sale in the Cairo

(66) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 213, report that Hāshim was killed in the battle, but he was in fact killed sometime before 1814 by Makk Nimr of Shandī, while involved in another conspiracy, Burckhardt, Travels, 257.

(67) Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 452-3, and Browne, Travels, 214, 88.



market, about which he wrote back to the African Association. (68)

But it was the Englishman, W.G. Browne, who was the first European to visit Dār Fūr and return to write an account of the country. (69) Although Browne stayed in Dār Fūr for nearly three years and was clearly in many ways an observant traveller, his account of his visit is rather disappointing, when compared to those of the later visitors, al-Tūnisī and Nachtigal.

When recording what he observed, particularly on the commercial life of the sultanate, he is invaluable, but the atmosphere of xenophobia he encountered and the difficulties he got himself into, made it difficult for him to collect much historical or ethnographic material.

Brown left Egypt in April 1793 and travelled via darb al-arbaʿ<sup>6</sup> to Dār Fūr, which he

(68) R. Hallett, The Penetration of Africa, London 1965, 200-3; R. Hallett (ed.), Records of the African Association, 1780-1831, London 1964, 58-9 and J. Leyden, Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, 2 vols. Edinburgh 1817, I, 190; the last two references quoting from his letters. On Rossetti, see below, 204. (71)

(69) I have not treated Browne's visit in detail, since much of his material appears throughout the thesis. See also Hallett, Penetration of Africa, 276-86 and R.L. Hill, A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan, second edition, London 1967, 88. (72)



reached in July. He himself confesses that he would have preferred to have followed Bruce's footsteps in Ethiopia and that Dār Fūr was very much a poor second choice. (70) Nevertheless he stayed in Dār Fūr for just under three years, finally leaving by caravan from Kobbei in March 1796. Most of his time was spent in Kobbei or al-Fāshir, and in the latter town he had several audiences with 'Abd al-Rahmān; he describes one such meeting,

"On another occasion, I contrived to gain admittance to the interior court by a bribe. The Sultan was hearing a cause of private nature, the proceedings on which were only in the Furian language. He was seated on a kind of chair, <sup>کورسی</sup>, which was covered with a Turkey carpet, and wore a red silk turban; his face was then uncovered: The Imperial sword was placed across his knees, and his hands were engaged with a chaplet of red coral." (71)

The caravan with which Browne returned to Cairo, took back to Dār Fūr on its return journey in November 1796 another visitor to the sultanate, Ahmad Aḥa. (72) Ahmad Aḥa was in origin one Giovanni Gaeta, one of three

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(70) Browne, Travels, 182.

(71) Browne, Travels, 211.

(72) Browne, Travels, 156-8.



Greek brothers from the island of Xanthos, who had migrated to Egypt to seek their fortune and, becoming Muslim, had entered the service of Murād Bey as Mamluks. (73) Giovanni Gaeta, or as he was now known, Ahmad Agha, won favour with his master through his skill in the casting of cannon. (74)

But he was not allowed. One day Ahmad Agha was approached by the Venetian Consul, Signor Rossetti, about a project involving Dār Fūr. Rossetti used to trade with the jallāba who came from Dār Fūr and in the first instance seems merely to have been anxious to increase his trade. Sometime later the jallāba now back in Dār Fūr told ʿAbd al-Rahmān that Rossetti had offered to supply him with cannon. The sultan appears to have been interested in the offer, perhaps with a view to using them in Kordofan, and in September 1796 the merchants returned to Cairo, saying that ʿAbd al-Rahmān wished some one to be sent to Dār Fūr who could make cannon. At Rossetti's prompting, Murād Bey agreed to let Ahmad Agha go to Dār Fūr by the next caravan. Auriant suggests that Murād wanted Ahmad to spy out the land for a possible invasion

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(73) The main source for this episode is A. Auriant, "Histoire d'Ahmed Aga le Zantiote. Un projet de conquête (1796-99) du Darfour", Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises, XIV, 1926, 181-234. Auriant appears to have made use of unpublished letters from Rossetti, but is not very precise about his sources. the battle of Dāra, two

(74) Browne, Travels, 81, 156-8. inscribed "liberté" and "égalité".



attempt from Egypt. (75)

In November 1796 Ahmad Agha left with the caravan from Būlaq and travelled to Dār Fūr along the darb al-arbaʿīn. On his arrival in al-Fāshir, he had an audience with the sultan, by whom he was well received. But he was not allowed to return to Egypt, since ʿAbd al-Rahmān had doubts about his motives in coming, and indeed he was kept a virtual prisoner in Dār Fūr for nearly two years. Whether during this period he built cannon for the sultan is not known. (76) But in 1798, Ahmad Agha was able to persuade the suspicious sultan to allow him to send letters with his doctor ( hakīm ), Sulaymān, back to Egypt.

The situation in Egypt had, by now, dramatically changed; in July 1798 Bonaparte landed there. There is evidence that Rossetti early on informed the French about his schemes for Dār Fūr, since he took the hakīm to see the French authorities, to whom Sulaymān described

(75) Murād Bey al-Qazcughlī and Ibrāhīm Bey ruled Egypt more or less continuously from 1784 until Bonaparte's invasion in 1798; see P.M. Holt, Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922, London 1966, 99-100.

(76) The Keira sultans seem to have acquired some cannon later from the French, since Douin, Histoire du Sudan Égyptien, I, 205, records that the Turco-Egyptian forces found on the Keira side, after the battle of Bāra, two small cannons of French origin, inscribed "liberté" and "égalité". 213.



Dār Fūr. About this time a large caravan from Dār Fūr was about to reach Egypt, carrying 12,000 slaves as well as ivory and gum, led by the khābīr ( Arabic, caravan guide ) al-Hājī Muhammad b. Mūsā. (77) The khābīr wrote to General Desaix, the French officer sent by Bonaparte to pursue the Mamluks in Upper Egypt, asking for permission to enter the country, since it was only en route that he had learnt of the French occupation of Egypt; this was readily granted. (78)

It seems that by now news of the French invasion had reached Dār Fūr, since another caravan was approaching Egypt, led by the khābīr Yūsuf al-Jallālī, who was carrying a letter from 'Abd al-Rahmān to Bonaparte. (79) In the letter, the sultan greeted with pleasure the French defeat of the Mamluks, no doubt sincerely since the Dār Fūr traders had suffered from the outrageous customs duties of the Mamluks, and mentioned Ahmad Agha, who, it seems with

Further information on the Dār Fūr trade was gathered by

(77) This is the caravan reported as approaching Egypt in Courrier de l'Égypte, XXII, 2 Nivôse an VIII, 22 December 1798, "On rapporte que celle caravane amène douze mille esclaves, elle est la plus nombreuse qui soit venue depuis long-temps."

(78) Courrier de l'Égypte, XXII, 2 Nivôse an VIII, 22 December 1798.

(79) Auriant, "Histoire d'Ahmed Aga", 205, who says that Yūsuf was one of the twenty four sons of the sultan, but 'Abd al-Rahmān is described as having few children; see below, 213.



a correct appreciation of the winning side, had told the sultan that the French would be victorious and friendly. (80) Bonaparte replied in two letters, dated 12 and 24 Messidor an VIII ( 30 June and 12 July 1799 ), in one of which he asked that the Keira sultan send him as many able-bodied male slaves as possible, as recruits for an army Bonaparte wished to raise. (81) It is not known whether the sultan complied and Bonaparte seems not to have followed up his contact, but instead immersed himself in preparations to invade Syria.

But the French in Egypt continued to maintain an interest in Dār Fūr and Poussielgue, the civilian Administrateur-General, seemingly at the prompting of Rossetti, wrote a memorandum to Bonaparte in Syria on Dār Fūr and its trade, mentioning also the alluvial gold of Jabal Shaybun and Taqalī in the Nuba mountains. (82) Further information on the Dār Fūr trade was gathered by some of the savants, who had accompanied Bonaparte, and published in the great compendium, Description de L'Egypte. (83)

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(80) A French translation of the letter is printed in Pièces Diverse et Correspondance Relatives aux Opérations de l'Armée d'Orient, Paris 1800. It is also reproduced in Jomard's preface to al-Tūnisī, Darfour, 111.

(81) Al-Tūnisī, Darfour, iv-vi.

(82) Auriant, "Histoire d'Ahmed Aga", 205.

(83) See further bibliography.



Vivant Denon, the French artist who accompanied part of Bonaparte's forces to Upper Egypt, met at Jirja a Keira prince, apparently a brother of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, who was returning from India and who was going to join another brother accompanying a caravan of 800 slaves from Sinnār to Cairo. Denon was told by the prince that there was trade between Dār Fūr and Timbuktu. (84)

Meanwhile Ahmad Agha, still in Dār Fūr, seems to have become involved in a conspiracy against the sultan. The plot failed and Ahmad Agha was executed. (85)

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(84) V. Denon, Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute-Égypte pendant les Campagnes de Bonaparte, London 1809, 2 vol., 1, 166-7.

(85) Auriant, "Histoire d'Ahmed Aga", 221-6, identifies Ahmad Agha with Zawāna Kāshif in al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 118-21, Darfūr, 113-8. Al-Tūnisī describes Zawāna (possibly a corruption of Giovanni) as a mamlūk of Murād or a kāshif of Muhammad Bey al-Alfī, who fled to Dār Fūr after the French invasion of Egypt. In Dār Fūr he became involved in a conspiracy with al-Tayyib b. Mustafā, who had married a daughter of sultan Muhammad Tayrāb. But the elaborate plot was discovered and Zawāna executed. <sup>y</sup> appears to have told against him. Whether there was a distinction between sons of free mothers and of slave concubines is not known, but I suspect there was, in that the latter were not eligible to succeed.



chapter VI.

THE LATER SULTANATE: I.

Muhammad al-Fadl and the Rebellion of Kurra.

Within the Keira sultanate, there was no precise or automatic rule of succession. (1) All sons of previous sultans, the awlād al-salātīn, were more or less eligible, depending upon their age, their resources and on what support they could muster. A reigning sultan could try and perpetuate the rule in his own line by appointing one of his sons as his successor, khalīfa, but with the exception of Muhammad Dawra being succeeded by his son, Umar Lel, this did not in any way guarantee that he

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(1) This is true of most Sudanic, indeed most African, states; thus in Bornu, "The basic criterion for succession was (and is) the kingly status of one's own father. In practice, the status of the mother's family and her personal character also helped to determine the choice, but the good opinion of the court was absolutely necessary", R. Cohen, "The Dynamics of Feudalism in Bornu, in J. Butler (ed.), Boston University Papers on Africa, II, Boston 1966, 97. Thus in Ishāq's case, his mother's family appears to have told against him. Whether there was a distinction between sons of free mothers and of slave concubines is not known, but I suspect there was, in that the latter were not eligible to succeed.



would be able to succeed, as the examples of Mūsā <sup>C</sup>Anqarīb and Ishāq b. Muḥammad Tayrāb show. (2) But from the time of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān until the end of the sultanate in 1874, the power of the sultanate was so concentrated in al-Fāshir that the old-style succession disputes were no longer possible, and so we have simple father to son succession with the

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(2) Compare with the chirama or khalifa in Bornu, "In practice however, this designation (i.e. chirama) never became firmly entrenched as part of the proceedings, at least not so firm as to stop competition for kingly office". Cohen, "Dynamics of Feudalism", 97. Browne, Travels, 277 tries to bring Dār Fūr into line with European custom, "On the death of the monarch, the title descends of right to the oldest of his sons; and in default<sup>7</sup> of heirs male, as well as during the minority of those heirs, to his brother. But under various pretences this received rule of succession is frequently infringed". V. Denon, Voyages, 1, 167; Denon recorded the following remarks on succession in Dār Fūr from the Keira prince he met, "Il nous dit encore que dans la famille royale la succession étoit élective, que c'étoient les chefs militaires et civils qui choisissoient parmi les fils du roi mort celui qu'ils jugeoient le plus digne de lui succéder au trône, et qu'il n'y doit pas encore d'exemple que cela eût produit la guerre civile." Bornu, 121 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 305.

(9) Al-Fāshir, Travels, 121 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 305.



actual accession controlled by the court officials. This change is also perhaps a reflection of the more stable and less warlike nature of the later Keira state. (3) But in no case is the importance of immediate and local power of decision in al-Fāshir better illustrated than in the events leading to the accession of Muḥammad al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The key figure in the comparatively peaceful transfer of power from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to his son was the abbo shaykh daali Muḥammad Kurra. (4) It seems that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, towards the end of his life, began to plan the transfer of power to his son, Muḥammad al-Faḍl, with Kurra as the instrument of his will. (5) Indeed to help Kurra carry out his wishes, the sultan is said to have had the abbo shaykh daali's mortal enemy, the wazīr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Dokūmī, imprisoned

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(3) Brother to brother succession re-appeared among the "Shadow" sultans in Jabal Marra, during the chaotic times of the Turkiya and the Mahdiyya.

(4) The main sources for the accession are al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 129-31, 324, Darfūr, 122-5, 350; al-Tūnisī arrived, as a young boy, in Dār Fūr, only four years later; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 287-8; Slatin, Fire and Sword, 44-5 and Shuqayr, Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, 455.

(5) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128, Darfūr, 121 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 385.

the influence of his mother, Dāḥ Bīṣā, may have played a part.

(9) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 129, Darfūr, 122.



in Jabal Marra. (6) Muhammad al-Faḍl was not ʿAbd al-Rahmān's only son; he had three other sons and three daughters. (7)

In 1215/1800-1, as ʿAbd al-Rahmān lay dying he was approached by the wazīr, his friend Mālik b. ʿAlī al-Fūtūwī, and asked to nominate his successor. But the dying sultan refused to say anything; no doubt he had already made his arrangements with Kurra. (8) When the sultan had actually died, Kurra went to Muhammad al-Faḍl, who as a boy of about fourteen was still living in the ḥarīm, and gave him the regalia of the dead sultan. (9) The young sultan was then brought out and shown to the title-holders within the grounds of the fāshir; all swore allegiance to him, although the aged malik al-nubās, Ibrāhīm b. Ramād is said to have disapproved of the choice. This showing of the new sultan appears to have been carefully stage-managed

(6) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 385.

(7) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 129, Darfour, 122 (printed 222), says the sultan had only two sons, Muhammad Bukhārī and Muhammad al-Faḍl. This corrected in Perron's appendix on Muhammad Abū Madyan b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from information from Abū Madyan, Darfour, 350 and translated in the Cairo Tashhīdh, 324, where four sons are mentioned. This is confirmed by Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 387.

(8) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 129, Darfour, 122. No reason is given for ʿAbd al-Rahmān's preference for Muhammad al-Faḍl; the influence of his mother, Umm Būza, may have played a part.

(9) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 129, Darfour, 122.







by Kurra who is said to have won over important title-holders by bribes of ten hawākīr, five hundred dollars and twenty horses with arms and armour. (10)

But the most formidable group opposed to Kurra and Muhammad al-Faḍl were the awlād al-salātīn. At first they were demoralised by Kurra's prompt action and retired from al-Fāshir to their hawākīr to plot and plan. (11) After some delay, the awlād al-salātīn came together and led their supporters against al-Fāshir. In all probability they were not very well organised and led, since Kurra sent an army to meet them under the Keira, Muhammad Daldan b. Bināyya, who easily crushed them. Sixty of the captured princes were publicly executed at a spot just outside al-Fāshir called afterwards qōz al-sittīn. This blood-letting may be taken as the end of the old-style opposition of the awlād al-salātīn; the accession of Muhammad al-Faḍl was secured and the position of Kurra

(10) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 130, Darfūr, 123 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 387-8. This is a good example of the use for political ends of land, imported goods, and currency.

(11) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 130 and 324, Darfūr, 124 and 350, recounting a miracle by Mālik b. ʿAlī by which the awlād al-salātīn were struck blind.

(13) Shugayr, Taʿālīm al-Sūdān, 435.



seemed unassailable. (12)

Shuqayr records a tradition of the new sultan that illustrates the advantages to be gained from marrying into the Keira family; one of the first acts of Muhammad al-Fadl was to free his mother's tribe, the Beigo, from all obligation to provide slaves and indeed forbade anyone to enslave them. He also gave his maternal uncle, Fazari, extensive estates. (13)

The years from 1215/1800-1 to 1219/1804-5 saw the complete ascendancy of Kurra in Dār Fūr. The sultan was too young to resist Kurra's domination and the opposition factions within the sultanate seemed to have been cowed during the period of accession, probably by the executions on qōz al-sittīn. But gradually an opposition group began to gather around the sultan, who increasingly resented his slave's power, to use the latent strength of the sultan's position to oust Kurra. Meanwhile Kurra

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(12) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 130 and 324, Darfour, 124 and 350, and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 388. Muhammad Daldan seems to have been an important figure at this time; his mother, Bināyya, was the new sultan's aunt; al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 70, 234 and 236, Darfour, 52, 233 and 430, note K. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 388, says he was nicknamed manio siddi, "the Black Buffalo", (manio, "buffalo", Fur siddi, "black" Dār Fūr Arabic); "buffalo" was a royal praise name, see Browne, Travels, 213-4.

(13) Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 455.



continued to rule Dar Fur autocratically, sternly putting down corruption; Nachtigal records that he was called jābir al-dār, "Tyrant of the land" and obeisance was done to him as if he were the sultan.

"The people fell back at a distance from his path, and squatted on one side, brushing the ground with the palm of their hands." (14)

Matters came to a head about Rajab 1219/October-November 1804, when the breach between the young sultan and his party and Kurra came out in the open. (15) Shuḡayr again gives an anecdote on the origin of the breach; on one occasion, when the sultan was giving a banquet for the title-holders, Kurra became very drunk and invited the sultan with a pun, tafaddal ma<sup>c</sup>nā, to eat with him, a thing unheard of for a Keira sultan to do; the enraged ruler then and there beat Kurra. (16) Whatever the immediate cause

(14) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 388.

(15) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 69-72, Darfūr, 51-4; the author, aged about fourteen, arrived in Dār Fūr in 1218/1803-4 and met Kurra before his downfall. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 388-9, has again a more sophisticated version; the old sultan before he died gave one of his wives a letter to give his son after three years, in which he advises him to get rid of Kurra.

(16) Shuḡayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 455.



of the split, it may not be too wrong to suggest that the opposition to Kurra came from the older established title-holders, since in the fighting that followed the leading figures on the sultan's side were the malik al-nuhās, Ibrāhīm b. Ramād and Muhammad Daldan b. Bināyya. Perhaps there was a reaction on the part of the more conservative elements within the state against the newer elements, such as slaves; in which case there would be a certain parallel to the revolt of Abū Likaylik in Sinnār, except that in the Dār Fūr case, through the accident of the sultan's age, the conservative elements were ranged on the sultan's side.

It was said that Kurra was considering replacing Muhammad al-Faḍl with his own brother, baasi <sup>c</sup>Awadallāh. (17) If this tradition is true, Kurra was proposing a change of dynasty for the first and only time in the history of the sultanate. (18)

Open hostilities began with the two

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(17) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 69, Darfour, 81, who says that baasi could be applied by courtesy to any male relative of an important title-holder, but informants were adamant that it was confined to male relatives of the sultan.

(18) Only al-Tūnisī mentions this and it seems very unlikely; even Abū Likaylik at Sinnār made no attempt to supplant the Funj dynasty and the Keira were in a much stronger position in Dār Fūr; compare also al-Tūnisī's assertion that the sultan had to come from Keira, Tashhīdh, 70, Darfour, 53.



parties encamped on either side of the rahad in the centre of al-Fāshir. In order to force a decision, the sultan then ordered his supporters to prevent the followers of Kurra from obtaining water from the rahad. (19) For three days Kurra drew his water from Jadīd al-Sayl, just north of al-Fāshir, but finally he was forced to withdraw towards Jadīd al-Sayl, only to find his way blocked by a contingent of the sultan's forces under Muhammad Daldan. In the battle that followed, Muhammad Daldan was defeated and killed and in a second battle the sultan's forces were again defeated. Alarmed the sultan himself fled to Jadīd al-Sayl. (20)

But Kurra's brother, <sup>c</sup>Awadallāh, had been killed in the fighting and his own position was precarious. In order to rally support to him, Kurra then proclaimed baasi Tāhir b. Ahmad Bukr as sultan. (21) Despite this move, which was probably designed to bring to Kurra's side the old partizans of the awlād Ahmad Bukr, during the night before the final battle many of Kurra's

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(19) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 70, Darfour, 52; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 389 and Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 457.

(20) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 70, Darfour, 52

(21) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 214; it is probable that al-Tūnisī misunderstood <sup>c</sup>Awadallāh's part in the rebellion; he may have been Kurra's commander with the Keira baasi as the sultanic candidate from the beginning.



supporters deserted him, aided, it was said, by a miraculous beating of the sacred drum, al-mansūra, during the night. (22) The following day, in a desperate battle, Kurra and his adopted son, Shaylfūt, were defeated and killed, the victorious commander on the sultan's side being the Baqirmāwī, Ahmad Jurāb al-Fīl. (23)

Asyūt in Upper Egypt, where there was a flourishing community of merchants who drew their wealth from the Dār Fūr trade, through the Khārja and Salīm oases to northern Dār Fūr, and to the sultanate's main commercial centre, Kabbai. (25) The main attraction of the darb al-arbaʿin in

Trade Routes and Commerce in Dār Fūr. was its security compared with the routes along the Nile; Dār Fūr at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century was at the centre of an extensive trading network, from which the sultans, in particular, profited greatly. There were three main trade routes; the famous darb al-arbaʿin, "the forty days road" from Egypt to Dār Fūr; from Dār Fūr north-westwards to Tripoli via the Fezzan and from Dār Fūr west to Wadai, Bornu and the western Sudanic belt and eastwards to Borno, Travels, 180-215; W. Hombin, Histoire de l'Égypte

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(22) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 389. 1823, 223-38;

(23) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 71, Darfūr, 53; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 389; Slatin, Fire and Sword, 45 and Shuqayr, Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, 457-8. sultans kept an official and a garrison at Sumaynī, north of Kabbai, to protect the caravans; Borno, Travels, 189, and Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 54, Darfūr, 35, who says that the official was, at the time of his arrival, al-malik Muhammad Sanjar, an al-Zaydī. 350 and 430.



to Kordofan, Sinnār, the Red Sea and Arabia. Of these routes, the most important to the sultanate was the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in. The location of the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in is well known; when it was first used is less easy to determine. It was certainly in use by the middle or late seventeenth century. (24) The darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in went roughly from Asyūt in Upper Egypt, where there was a flourishing community of merchants who drew their wealth from the Dār Fūr trade, through the Khārja and Salīma oases to northern Dār Fūr, and to the sultanate's main commercial centre, Kobbei. (25) The great attraction of the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in was its security compared with the routes along the Nile; for most of its length the route passed through uninhabitable desert and whatever the discomforts, this made it virtually immune from attacks from the Arab or Zaghāwa camel nomads. (26)

(24) See above 96-7.

(25) On Asyūt, see H. Deherain, Etudes sur l'Afrique, Paris 1904, 65-73. We possess several descriptions of the route; Browne, Travels, 130-215; F. Mengin, Histoire de l'Égypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly, Paris 1823, 228-38; Denon, Voyages, 1, 281, and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 48-54, Darfūr, 28-35.

(26) Browne, Travels, 252-3. The sultans kept an official and a garrison at Suwaynī, north of Kobbei, to protect the caravans; Browne, Travels, 189, and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 54, Darfūr, 35, who says that the official was, at the time of his arrival, al-malik Muhammad Sanjaq, qa<sup>c</sup>id al-Zaghāwa.



The slave raiding was on the main export along the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in from Dār Fūr was slaves, who came mainly, but not exclusively, from the pagan tribes living to the south of the sultanate, and who were known collectively as Fertīt. But slaves were also taken from the tribes who lived between Dār Fūr and Wadai. It is probable that many of the slaves reached the merchants from the Baqqāra and Fulani cattle nomads of southern Dār Fūr. But probably the main source of slaves were the organised raids, called salatiya, that were sent by the sultans. Although our information on the salatiya is scanty, such raids appear to have been regularly sent and were often led by senior title-holders; al-Tūnisī records that Muhammad Daldan asked Muhammad al-Fadl for permission, which he was given, to go on a raid to Dār Fertīt; he returned with immense booty. (27)

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(27) On the salatiya ( Arabic, a broad-bladed spear used by the Baqqāra ), see Browne, Travels, 219 and 299. Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 281, records that the leaders of such expeditions were called sultān al-ghazwa; this an interesting example of the Islamization of the slave raiding institution, since ghazwa is a synonym of jihād. The Sinnār Sultanate possibly had a similar official, the mugaddam al-salatiya; Muhammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Al-Funj wa'l-ard, Khartoum 1967, 53. Although mugaddam al-salatiya may refer to a commander of a corpse of soldiers so armed, Spaulding suggests he was an official connected with slave raiding; personal communication. On Muhammad Daldan, see al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 236, Darfour, 350 and 430.



The slave raiding was on a large scale and the jallāba, in their search for slaves and other goods, appear to have penetrated immense distances south of Dār Fūr. The historical traditions of several of the tribes that now live in the Western Bahr al-Ghazāl contain accounts of migrations from southern Dār Fūr as a result of slave raiding by the Keira and Baqqāra. (28) And there are indications that such expeditions may have reached as far south as the Mbomu river, in the present Central African Republic. (Kinchasa). Fākī Madanī, of the family of Mālik b. <sup>c</sup>Alī, told al-Tūnisi of an expedition from Dār Fūr that tried to go as far south as possible. They travelled for six months until they came to a great stretch of water, which they could not cross, but on the other side of which they saw men dressed in red. Fākī Madanī had once talked

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(28) Mengin, Histoire de l'Égypte, 234, gives a list of tribes raided for slaves; it includes the Runga, Shala, Dango (Dongo), Feroqe, Kara and Yulu, and several unidentified groups. G.F. Lyon, Travels in Northern Africa, London 1821, 231, refers to slaves from Tāma and Runga being exported from Wadai to the Fezzan. On the local traditions, see S. Santandrea, A Tribal History of the Western Bahr el Ghazal, Verona 1965, 191, 232 and 240 and "A Ndogo-Kindred Group", Annali Lateranensi, XXI, 1957, 115-90.

(31) The main French references are, P.J.G. (Arard), "De la caravane de Darfour", and L. Frank, "Mémoire sur le commerce



to an old man who had reached this river or lake in the reign of <sup>c</sup>Umar Lal. (29)

The captured slaves were then collected together at one of the main commercial centres in northern or western Dār Fūr, Uri, Suwaynī, Kobbei or Kabkābiya and then taken by caravan to Egypt. It is difficult to estimate the numbers of slaves exported; Browne remarks that,

"a caravan of 2,000 camels and a  
1,000 slaves was considered rather  
larger than normal." (30)

But French sources from the period of the occupation of Egypt, deriving their information from Egyptian sources, estimated that between 5 and 6,000 slaves came down the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup> in each year. (31)

(29) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 274-6; Browne, Travels, XV, describes a journey of forty days south in search of slaves and there is a similar itinerary in H. Barth, "Account of Two Expeditions in Central Africa by the Furanyis", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XXXII, 1853, 120-2.

The extent of these journeys is discussed in E. de Dampierre, Un Ancien Royaume Bandia du Haut-Oubangui, Paris 1967, 59-60.

(30) Browne, Travels, 249.

(31) The main French references are, P.J.G. (irard), "De la caravane de Darfour", and L. Frank, "Mémoire sur le commerce



But slaves were not the only item exported from Dār Fūr; Browne lists ivory, gold, rhinoceros horn, ostrich feathers, gum and copper. (32) Ivory was an important product from southern Dār Fūr, where it was hunted by the Baqqāra, and Dār Fūr appears to have exported much more than the neighbouring areas. (33) Copper came from the famous mines at Hufrat al-Nuhās, again in southern Dār Fūr, where extensive workings from the days of the sultans can still be seen. (34) The copper mines at Hufrat al-Nuhās

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(31) contd. des Negres au Kairo, et sur les maladies auxquelles ils sont sujets en y arrivant", both appendices in vol. ii of Denon, Voyages; M.J. Lapanouse, "Memoire sur les caravanes qui arrivent du royaume de Darfurth", Mémoires sur l'Égypte, 4 vols., Paris 1800, iv, 81-2 and le Comte Estève, "Mémoires sur les Finances", Description de l'Égypte, 24 vols., Paris 1823, xii, 118-9 and 144. See also S.J. Shaw, Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, 136-8 and G. Baer, Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt, Chicago 1969, 161-89.

(32) Browne, Travels, 302-4.

(33) A. Figari, Studi Scientifici sull'Egitto e sue Adiacenze, Lucca 1864, 441-2, and J.W. von Müller, "Travels in Africa, 1847-9", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XX, 1851, 279, both give detailed figures on the quantities of ivory exported in the mid-nineteenth century from Dār Fūr and Kordofan.

(34) Browne, Travels, 267, and S.M.R., XXIV, 1941, 158.



on at least one occasion served as the Siberia of Dār Fūr; a certain <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Karīm who attempted to explore in Dār Fūr, apparently on behalf of the British Government, in the time of Muhammad al-Faḍl, was sent to the copper mines by the sultan and was not released until much later. (35) The merchants took back from Egypt various types of cloth, carpets, jewellery, weapons and armour, both for men and horses. (36)

The other great axis of trade through Dār Fūr was the route west to east. This was part of the great ḥajj route from the western bilād al-sūdān to Mecca and Medina, which has probably been in use since late medieval times. Browne noticed that while pilgrims from Dār Fūr travelled to the Hijāz via Cairo along the darb al-arba<sup>C</sup>, the pilgrims from the western bilād al-sūdān travelled across Dār Fūr and Kordofan on their way to

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(35) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Le Désert et le Soudan, Paris 1853, 427 and R.L. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, London 1959, 70.

(36) Browne, Travels, 304 and Figari, Studi Scientifici, 441-2. Girard, "De la caravane de Darfour", col, comments, "Les diverses marchandises apportées de Darfour au Kairo sont toutes payées en argent, dont les neuf dixièmes restent dans cette ville pour le paiement d'objets achetés en retour; le surplus est converti en piastres que l'on emploie dans le pays à faire des bracelets, et autres ornements de femme".

II, 1832, 180 and H. Bruns, Le Nil Blanc et le Soudan, Paris 1855, 131-3.

(39) MacMichael, History, I, 354.



Sawakin and the Red Sea; the latter route was cheaper although more dangerous. (37) Merchants from Dar Fur traded west as far as Timbuktú and Baqirmi and merchants from the west traded and settled in Dār Fūr and even further east. (38) Along this route from the west, as we have seen, came influences and people from the western Sudanic region; by the eighteenth century Fulani groups had settled in Dār Fūr, around the southern slopes of Jabal Marra. (39) The towns

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(37) Browne, Travels, 253. Volney met in Cairo some pilgrims who had probably travelled via Dār Fūr, "J'ai vu au Kairo plusieurs noirs arrivés par cette caravane (i.e. d'Abyssinie, probably Dār Fūr), qui venaient du pays des Foulis (i.e. Fulani), au nord du Senegal, et disaient avoir vu des Francs dans leurs contrées", C.F. de Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, Paris 1787, 2 vols., I, 183. See also F. Henniker, Notes on Egypt Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai and Jerusalem, London 1823, 175.

(38) On Timbuktú, see above 208. Barth, while near Baqirmi, met some Hausa going to Baqirmi to barter their indigo-dyed shirts for asses from Dār Fūr, and a caravan of Iallāba from Nimro in Wadai, taking copper from Hufat al-Nuhās to Kano, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 339. For references to merchants trading from west to east, see L.M.A. Linant de Bellefonds, "Journal of a voyage on the Bahr-Abiad or White Nile", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, II, 1832, 180 and M. Brun-Rollet, Le Nil Blanc et le Soudan, Paris 1855, 131-3.

(39) MacMichael, History, I, 83-4.



of Kabkābiya and Gerli had large Fulani quarters; the latter town was at one time ruled by a Fulani fāki. (40) But not only Fulani came to Dār Fūr; there were, as there still are, large communities of immigrants from Bornu, Wadai and Baqirmi all over Dār Fūr.

There seems to have been some trade between Dār Fūr and Tunis and Tripoli, although it is not so well documented as that along the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in, but Petherick mentions it in describing the attempts of Muhammad Tayrāb to equip his army, a seventeenth century

Uri in northern "From Tunis, whither large caravans of slaves and merchandise proceeded annually, in which the Sultan himself condescended to trade - by which means he obtained luxuries in exchange for the rough produce of his dominions." (41)

The caravan route went roughly from Dār Fūr via al-Waytī, Sarra and Kufra, across to the oases of Jalo and thence to Tripoli or Tunis. Although the Dār Fūr/Tunis and Tripoli trade was never as important to Dār Fūr as the trade along the darb al-arba<sup>c</sup>in, there were communities of merchants from the Maghrib settled in the sultanate, particularly at Kobbei, while there appears to have been a community of

Khartoum February 1968, points out the Maghribi script, known as warab, was in use in Dār Fūr, although Burckhardt, Travels

(40) Browne, Travels, 240.  
(41) J. Petherick, Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa, Edinburgh 1861, 266.

(43) Arkell, S.H.S., XXIII/2, 1952, 246-50.



slaves in Tunis from Dār Fūr. (42) The bulk of the slaves taken to Cairo from Tunis and Tripoli, as one of the three main slave caravan routes to Egypt - the other two being from Dār Fūr and Sinnār - came via the Fezzān from the Bornu/Wadai region.

Each of the main trade routes through Dār Fūr had its own particular centre within the sultanate - Kabkābiya and Gerli in the west, Rīl and Manawāshī in the south, Suwaynī and Kobbei in the north and later al-Fāshir in the east. In the late seventeenth century Uri in northern Dār Fūr appears to have been the main market centre, but by the time of Brown's visit it had been superseded by Kobbei. (43) Slatin described Kobbei as

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(42) On Kobbei, Browne, Travels, 241; on slaves from Dār Fūr in Tunis, see Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Hashayshī, Voyage au Pays de Senoussia, trans. V. Serres, Paris 1903, 227 and L. Valensi, "Esclaves chrétiens et esclaves noirs à Tunis au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", Annales, XXII/6, 1967, 1267-88. The Maghribī influence may have been deeper than the evidence suggests; Yūsuf Fadl Ḥasan, "External Islamic influences and the progress of Islamisation in the Eastern Sudan between the 15 & 18th. centuries", paper presented to the "Sudan in Africa" Conference, Khartoum February 1968, points out the Maghribī script, known as warsh, was in use in Dār Fūr, although Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, 481, places the watershed of the scripts further west in "Dar Saley" or Wadai.

(43) Arkell, S.N.R., XXXIII/2, 1952, 246-50.



"The old trade capital of Darfur, which was inhabited by Jaalin, whose fathers power. (46) Slaves and grandfathers migrating from the Nile and officials, but also valley, had intermarried with the local people." (44) The luxury goods could be

Though the change in sites may have been due to lack of water - Kobbei itself dried up during the Mahdiya - it also probably reflects a basic reorientation of Dār Fūr's commercial interests in the later Keira sultanate; Uri lies north-west of Jabal Marra and is more accessible from Wadai and Bornu, while Kobbei lies to the east and is thus more open to the Nile and the darb al-arbaʿīn.

Al-Tūnisī describes the internal commercial life of the sultanate, which seems to have been firmly based on a prosperous agriculture; corn and dukhn were grown on the slopes of Jabal Marra, where the existence of extensive stone terracing attests to the high degree of competence the Fur reached in agriculture. Corn was also grown by means of irrigation at the commercial centres of Kobbei and Kabkābiya; a fact that no doubt contributed to their importance as markets. Different markets specialised in particular commodities; Qūz was the main market for dukhn - the Fur sold their corn and bought dukhn - Numlei, the market for onions and Gerli, near to Dār Lewing, the main rock salt producing area, for salt. (45)

(44) Slatin, Fire and Sword, 108

(45) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 303-11, Darfūr, 313-21.



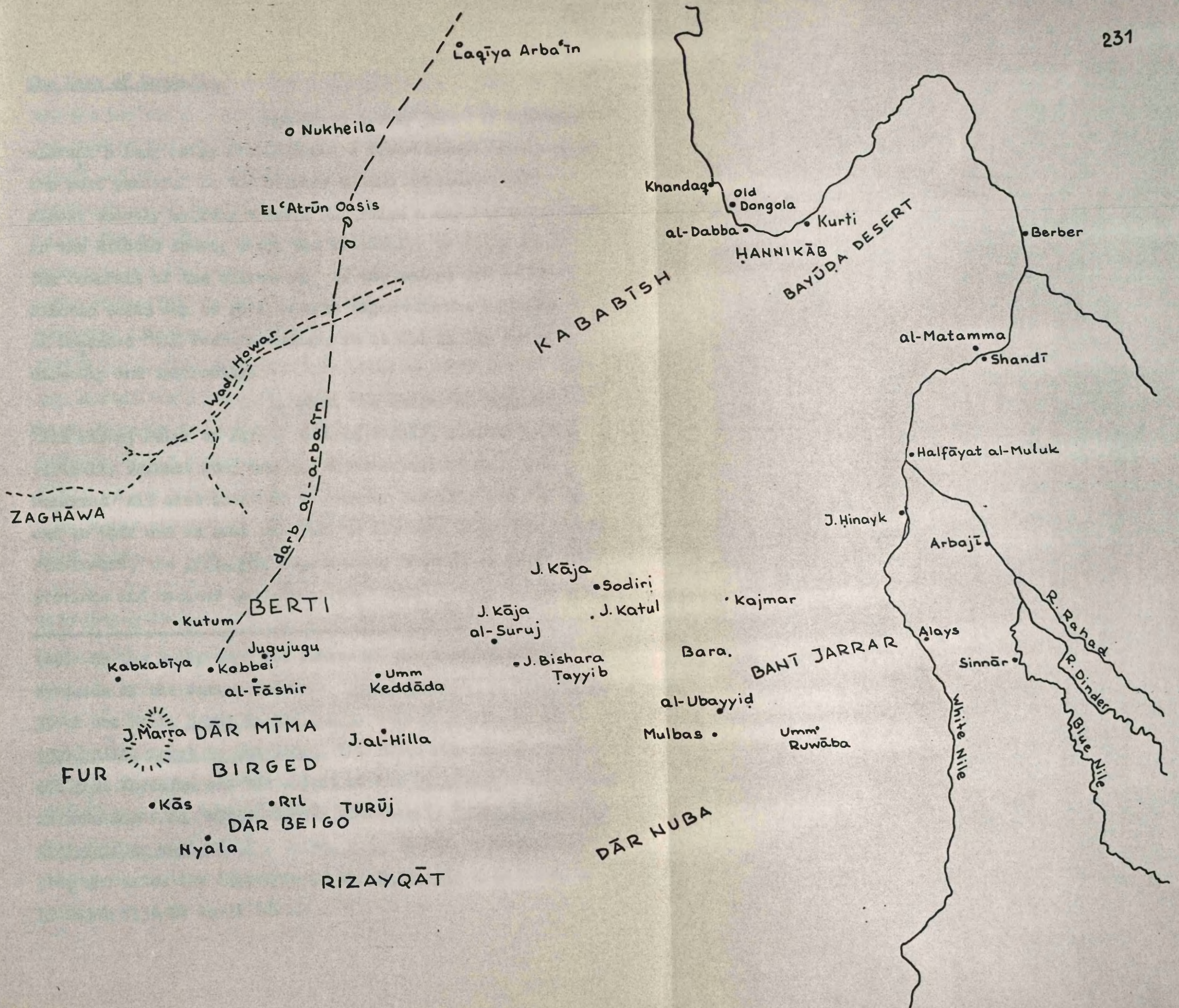
The sultans were the leading merchants in their state and that position strengthened their political power. (46) Slaves provided the sultans not only with soldiers and officials, but also with a commodity that could be traded for arms, armour and luxury goods. The luxury goods could be used to reward subordinates and allies. The trade appears to have been carefully organised; there were customs houses established in the main centres, charging a tenth on all goods imported and a fifth on slaves exported. (47) The malik al-iallāba, the head of the foreign merchant community, was responsible for deciding commercial disputes within the business community; Browne, who got himself into a dispute, found that his case was tried first by a qādī and then by the malik al-iallāba. (48)

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(46) Browne, Travels, 301, "The king is chief merchant in the country, and not only dispatches with every caravan to Egypt a great quantity of his own merchandise, but also employs his slaves and dependents to trade with the goods of Egypt, on his own account, in the countries adjacent to Soudan."

(47) Browne, Travels, 298.







### The Loss of Kordofan.

The first twenty years of Muhammad al-Faḍl's long reign (1215/1300-1 - 1254/1338-9) were perhaps the most peaceful in the history of the sultanate, but almost exactly halfway through his reign a new force appeared in the Nilotic Sudan, which was eventually to bring about the downfall of the sultanate. If the modern era in the Nilotic Sudan can be said to have begun with the invasion of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha's armies, so it did in Dār Fūr both directly and indirectly.

In 1821, the armies of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha, ruler of Egypt, entered Sinnār, capital of the virtually defunct Funj empire, without resistance. (49) Muhammad 'Alī also intended to conquer Kordofan and Dār Fūr and to this end an army was sent to Kordofan under the Pasha's son-in-law, the Daftardār Muhammad Bey Khusraw to seize the province and conquer the sultanate. (50)

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(49) On the background and course of the Turco-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan, see Holt, Modern History of the Sudan, 35-42 and Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 8-18.

(50) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 12. That Dār Fūr also and not just Kordofan was the object of the Daftardār's expedition is made clear in 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī, Ḥayāt al-athār fi'l-Tarā'im wa'l-akhbār, Cairo, n.d. (1879), 4 vols., iv, 313, who dates the departure of the Daftardār from Cairo to 17 Rajab 1136/20 April 1821.



The Daftardār's route into Kordofan was the well-used trade route, which left the Nile at al-Dabba and crossed the Bayūda desert to Jabal Harāza and then to Kajmar and finally to Bāra and al-Ubayyid. (51) Muhammad Bey Khusraw left al-Dabba in July 1821 to begin his march across the desert. The Keira governor in Kordofan was still Musallim, who now governed the province on his own with the title of maḡdūm. (52) Although Musallim was warned of the impending invasion by jallāba from Lower Nubia about a month before, in Sha<sup>c</sup>bān 1236/May-June 1821, he seems not to have (56) appreciated the magnitude of the danger threatening him. (53) Musallim seems to have made few preparations to meet the invasion beyond informing the sultan and did nothing to follow up the proposal of the shaykh of Jabal Harāza that they should attempt to stop the Turco-Egyptian forces at Jabal Harāza as they came out of the desert still weak from crossing the Bayūda; a very sensible suggestion that could have anticipated Shaykān by sixty years. (54)

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(51) On this route, see Born, Zentralkordofan, 48-9.

(52) It is not known when Musallim was given the title, maḡdūm, which appears to have been an innovation of Muhammad al-Fadl's reign; see glossary, and below 247-53

(53) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 214.

(54) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire, 80 and G.M. Lejean, "Voyage au Haraza", Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, 1865, 300-13.

(57) R.L. Hall, S.N.A.S., XXIX/1, 1948, 61.



traditional predominance. If Musallim seems not to have taken the threat seriously, neither did the sultan and indeed it may have been that there was some coolness between the sultan and the magdūm. Burckhardt had been told some years before that Musallim would like to have tried to make himself independent in Kordofan. (55)

Thus while the Daftardār with an army of some 3,000 men and a battery of thirteen cannon advanced into Kordofan, the magdūm, wasting entirely his strategic possibilities, sat waiting for him at al-Ubayyid. (56) The Daftardār reached Jabal Harāza without difficulty and by mid-August he was near Bāra. (57)

On 18 August 1821, Musallim moved from al-Ubayyid to Bāra to meet the invaders with an army of about 8,000 infantry and 1200 horsemen, including two hundred mailed cavalry. The next day, in a desperately fought battle, the Dār Fūr army, whose cavalry fought very bravely, was crushed by musket and cannon fire; Musallim was killed and his heavy cavalry guard destroyed. In many ways Bara was a foretaste of the theme of African wars in the late nineteenth century. It marked the end of the

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(55) Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, 482; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 390, who says Musallim was intriguing with the sultan's brother, Muhammad Bukhārī, and Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 462.

(56) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 13.

(57) R.L. Hill, S.N.R., XXIX/1, 1948, 61.



traditional predominance in the Sudanic region of heavy cavalry. (58)

Apart from Musallim, nearly thirty Dār Fūr notables, including the abbo daadinga Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Qādir Wīr, were killed as well as 700 of the rank and file; six notables and two thousand others were captured for the loss of a hundred and fifty dead and three hundred wounded. (59)

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(58) As Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 12, has pointed out, there is no eye witness account of Bāra, but Douin, Histoire du Soudan Égyptien, 205, makes use of Turco-Egyptian archival sources in Egypt and E. Driault, La Formation de l'Empire de Mohamed Aly d'Arabie au Soudan, Cairo 1927, 231, quotes from a letter from the French Consul in Egypt, Drovetti, giving part of a dispatch from the Daftardār, dated Muharram 1236/October-November 1821.

(59) Driault, La Formation de l'Empire, 231; A. Holroyd, "Notes of a journey to Kordofan in 1836-7", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, IX, 1939, 163-91 mentions a certain sultan "Ibrahim Idwir", who was killed at Bāra - malik Rihaymtallāh Muhammad, interview al-Fāshir 19.5.1970, on the death of abbo daadinga at Bāra. Other accounts of Bāra include G.M. Lejean, "Voyage au Kordofan", Tour du Monde, VII, 1863, 26; D'Escayrac de Lauture, Le Désert et le Soudan, 439; Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 218-9 and Petherick, Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa, 273-4.



The defeat and death of Musallim and the loss of Kordofan was a severe blow to the sultanate, probably in the main for commercial reasons. There is some evidence that Muhammad al-Fadl did make some effort to regain the lost province, while the Daftardār, for his part, was forced to postpone the invasion of Dār Fūr because of the belated resistance of the Sudanese to the main invasion force under Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl. in Egypt reported home that caravans from

Dār Fūr had almost stopped. Cadalvène and Breuvéry record that Muhammad al-Fadl sent an expedition to recover Kordofan under his nephew, the wazīr Ahmad, together with the title-holders, the aba diimang, aba uumang and takanāwī together with one Sayyid Barnū. The expedition reached as far as Abū Arad, but was hurriedly recalled following, it seems, some plotting against the sultan. (60) In Shuqayr's version the sultan sent an army under one Abū al-Likaylik to Kordofan, which was defeated by the Turco-Egyptian forces and its commander killed near Sōdirī. (61)

The Keira sultanate had not simply lost a province, it had also acquired an all-too-powerful neighbour and from the time of Bāra on, Dār Fūr's relations with its neighbour to the east were conditioned by that fact. The sultans pursued an alternately defiant and circumspect policy, but they could not deny the reality of their own weakness. *Égypte*, 2 vols., *Cairo* 1904-05, 1906 and 1911, *Égypte in the Sudan*, 30.

(60) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, 11, 231.

(61) Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 462.



After Bāra, Muhammad al-Faḍl retaliated by forbidding the merchants from Egypt who were in the sultanate at the time of the invasion from returning home. (62) A sort of trade war followed between the sultan and Muhammad 'Alī Pasha with the former closing the darb al-arba'īn and the latter making the exports of arms to Dār Fūr a capital offence. (63) Thus by 1837, the Russian Consul-General in Egypt reported home that caravans from Dār Fūr had almost stopped coming to Egypt, preferring to go to the ports of the Barbary coast. (64) It was from about this time that Dār Fūr acquired the reputation for being inhospitable and inaccessible to visitors.

The sultan also had to contend with a pretender, his brother Muhammad Abū Madyan. (65) Abū Madyan fled from Dār Fūr to Cairo, where he tried to persuade Muhammad 'Alī Pasha to back him in an attempt to gain the sultanate. Although Abū Madyan was supported by the Turco-~~ne~~, Egyptian governor at Khartoum, 'Alī Khurshīd Pasha, nothing definite came of the plan. The threat of Abū Madyan's claims remained, but for the rest of his reign Muhammad al-Faḍl was

(62) Douin, Histoire du Soudan Egyptien, 301.

(63) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 30.

(64) R. Cattani, La Règne de Mohamed Ali d'après les Archives Russes en Égypte, 2 vols., Cairo 1931, II, 388 and Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 30.

(65) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīḥ, 343-64, Darfūr, 370-94 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 392.



not seriously disturbed by his powerful neighbour. At further  
Tama raids, ~~1888~~ <sup>1889</sup> saw not only a second letter of complaint  
to the British, but also an army to the  
north-eastern border of Wadai and ordered the governor  
Muhammad al-Fadl and Wadai.

to prepare for war. Apart from the threat of intervention in the civil war between 'Abd al-Rahmān and Ishāq, relations between Dār Fūr and Wadai since the time of Tayrāb seem to have been comparatively peaceful. But Muhammad al-Fadl was twice involved in Wadai during his reign, once over a border dispute and again towards the end of his reign in a Wadai succession dispute.

The border dispute concerned Dār Tāma. Wadai was now ruled by the energetic sultan, Muḥammad Sābūn, who came to power in Rajab 1219/May-June 1804. (66) Early in Sābūn's reign the Tāma began to raid into Wadai. (67) Since Dār Tāma was regarded as tributary to the Keira sultans, the Wadai sultan wrote to Muḥammad al-Faḍl complaining of the behaviour of the Tāma malik, Aḥmad. Sābūn received a conciliatory reply, but still considered that the Tāma were secretly being encouraged from al-Fāshir, a suspicion which seems to have been confirmed when some people from the

(66) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 73. Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 530, gives the date as 1805.

(67) Al-Tūnisī, Ouaday, 138; al-Tūnisī's father, ʿUmar, was a close advisor of the Wadai sultan and involved in the events that followed.



Masālīt subject to Wadai came to complain to him of further Tāma raids. Sābūn now sent not only a second letter of complaint to the Keira sultan, but also an army to the north-eastern borders of Wadai and ordered the governor of Wadai's eastern province, the Caīd al-sabāh Jāballāh, to prepare for war. This time Muhammad al-Fadl replied that he was sending the amīn Ahmad Jurāb al-Fīl al-Baqirmāwī to see and warn off malik Ahmad. (68)

However the Tāma continued their raids and the infuriated Wadai sultan set out to invade the offending state. Sābūn was joined on the expedition by Umar al-Tūnisī, who brought with him twenty-two musketeers recruited from the Fezzān, Tripoli and Benghazi. These were able to give covering fire while the Wadai forces stormed the mountain where malik Ahmad had his stronghold. But the malik had already fled to Dār Fūr. Muhammad al-Fadl apparently considered invading Wadai but Sābūn's success caused him to change his mind. Al-Tūnisī, however, records that the Keira sultan, about this time, gave support to the Wadai pretender, Asīl, who moved into Wadai with his encouragement. But Asīl was captured and executed by Sābūn. (69) Later Sābūn sent a second expedition to Dār Tāma, which was again successful, although Ahmad appealed again for help from Muhammad al-Fadl, who merely sent food. It seems that Sābūn had now determined to capture Dār Tāma

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(68) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 192.

(69) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 110.



and hold it permanently and he was probably emboldened to this course by the inactivity of the Keira sultan on behalf of his vassal. Thus he led a third expedition, this time on a much larger scale. While Ahmad offered battle to the main Wadai force, one of Sābūn's commanders was able to seize the Tāma ruler's mountain stronghold. Finally Ahmad submitted to Sābūn on condition of paying annually a hundred horses and a thousand slaves. (70)

Ahmad later asked the Wadai sultan for a reduction in the number of slaves to be paid in tribute, since his people had to go and hunt for them in Dār Fertit, which was no longer easy because of Fur opposition. The number was accordingly reduced to a hundred. Although, after Sābūn's departure, Ahmad wrote to Muhammad al-Faḍl, saying that he had only submitted to avoid further devastation the whole episode is symptomatic of the Keira sultanate's military weakness at the time.

(71) This is of course This military weakness became the more pronounced as the nineteenth century progressed. Abd al-Rahmān had fought reluctantly in person in the civil war with Ishaq, but neither Muhammad al-Faḍl nor his successor, Muhammad al-Husayn, went on campaign as sultans. It is difficult to be precise about the causes, but the centralisation of the state seems to have been achieved at the cost of a loss of vigour at the centre. The court officials, the slaves and the adventurers appear to have

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(70) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 199-206.



been more interested in trade than war and the sultans seem to have adopted something of their timidity. It was not until it was too late that the last Keira sultan, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, went to war in person. (71)

Muḥammad al-Faḍl was to intervene more effectively in the affairs of Wadai towards the end of his reign. Wadai, after the death of Sābūn in 1230/1815-6, fell into a series of succession disputes and it was in one of these that Muḥammad al-Faḍl was able to intervene. After the death of the comparatively strong sultan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, about 1836, he was succeeded by his infant son Ādam, but by now the whole kingdom was in a state of confusion.

At this time there was living in Dār Fūr a claimant to the Wadai throne, a younger brother of Sābūn, Muḥammad al-Sharīf. (72) Muḥammad al-Sharīf had powerful supporters in Wadai and possibly useful connexions

(71) This is of course a subjective judgment, but both Nachtigal's informants and mine contrasted the vigour of the eighteenth century sultans with their successors of the nineteenth. It would have been very difficult for a fourteen year old boy to have succeeded to the throne in the previous century.

(72) Shuqayr, Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, 461, who says he was earning his living as a butcher at Jadīd Rās al-Fīl and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, III, 393, who says he was a merchant in southern Dār Fūr.

at the ill-treatment to which the king had him subjected, when at their meeting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did not dismount from his horse at an appropriate distance."



## CHAPTER VII

in Dār Fūr, since his mother was probably a Fulani from the sultanate. (73) Nachtigal records that Muhammad al-Faḍl used the pretext afforded by Muhammad al-Sharīf's claims to try and seize Wadai as a kingdom for his favourite son, Muhammad al-Husayn. (74) Whatever the motive, an expedition was sent under the wazīr ʿAbd al-Sīd and the malik koriāt ʿAbd al-Fattāh, and accompanied by Muhammad al-Sharīf and Muhammad al-Husayn. The Dār Fūr forces routed the partizans of sultan Ādam, but Muhammad al-Faḍl's plan miscarried, since Muhammad al-Sharīf, with the help of his supporters in Wadai, took control for himself and repudiated the agreement he had made to pay tribute to Dār Fūr and to acknowledge the suzerainty of Muhammad al-Faḍl. (75) The Dār Fūr expedition returned home but ʿAbd al-Sīd, afraid of the consequences of his failure, committed suicide. (76)

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(73) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Mémoire, 78.

(74) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 393.

(75) Al-Tūnisī, Quaday, 235; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 393 and Barth, Travels and Discoveries, 111, 533,

who dates this episode to al-Tūm al-Awal 1250/August-September 1834, which would mean that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died before 1836.

(76) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 393-4, who gives another version of his death, "According to another account, he died as a result of the ill-treatment to which the king had him subjected, when at their meeting ʿAbd al-Sīd did not dismount from his horse at an appropriate distance."



## chapter VII

### THE LATER SULTANATE: II.

#### The Triumph of al-Fāshir.

The dominance of the sultan and his slave officials in al-Fāshir over the old title-holding class and the awlād al-salātīn is nowhere better illustrated than in the accession of Muhammad al-Husayn al-Mahdī b. Muhammad al-Fadl. Just as Kurra had been able to put a child on the throne in obedience to his master's wishes and probably his own inclinations, so Muhammad al-Fadl's slave, the amīn Adam Tarbūsh, was able to put the sultan's favourite son in the throne in defiance of the other awlād al-salātīn. Whereas before some of the title-holders and awlād al-salātīn had actually gone to war against Kurra's candidate, now mere possession of the palace seems to have secured the accession of Muhammad al-Husayn.

(3) Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, 111, 393-417 is our main source for the reign of Muhammad al-Husayn; much of his information comes from eye-witnesses of the events he describes. The scope and accuracy of the information on Dār Fūr that he was able to collect in the six months he was in the sultanate is astonishing. Whether the nisba, al-Mahdī, has any significance is not known.

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and confidant to engineer the accession of the sultan's second eldest son, Muhammad al-Husayn, and although Adam seems to have preferred the eldest son, Abū Bakr, he promised to carry out faithfully his master's wishes. (2) Meanwhile the wazīr °Abd al-Bārī, who had replaced °Abd al-Šīd, was plotting with a group of title-holders to put either Sayf al-Dīn or Bōsh, both sons of Muhammad al-Fadl by Umm Na'īm Kussa, on the throne, marry the mother and thus ensure his own power in the land. (3) But the conspiracy was betrayed to the dying sultan by Adam Tarbūsh and °Abd al-Bārī banished from the capital. Two days later Muhammad al-Fadl died.

But despite the dead sultan's

(2) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 394. Apart from the title, amīn, which appearstto have been an honorific, Adam Tarbūsh seems to have held no official position until after the accession of the new sultan.

(3) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 394, lists °Abd al-Bārī's associates; the abbo daadinga Ishāq b. Bōsh, the orrendulung Ahmad al-Dabī, Ahmed Wotfa, the abbo jabbay Muhammad Nūr al-Dīn, the baasi Nyombe b. Nūh, Muhammad b. Tayrāb, shartai of Dār Birged Kajjar, Muhammad b. Hasan Abū Kabīr, later maddūm of dār al-rīh and the malik al-koriat °Abd al-Fattāh. What Nachtigal's account does not make clear is thenmeans whereby Adam Tarbūsh succeeded in the face of what at first sight seems such the formidable opposition. Basi Umar and Hasan Abu Kabir, were



Adam Tarbūsh seems to have kept a firm grip on affairs during the interregnum, despite an attempt by Abū Bakr to rally his brothers and seize control of the palace. The old palace or fāshir, built by <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Rahmān on the north-west side of the raḥad Tandaltī, was a hive of buildings containing the dead sultan's regalia, the sacred drums, the armoury and the treasury. Possession of the palace was thus not only ritually but practically decisive. The ritual aspect is significant; despite Islamisation, the sacred character of the sultan and the importance of the royal regalia seem to have been in no way diminished.

But despite the dead sultan's command, the choice of Muḥammad al-Husayn seems to have been something of an accident; Adam Tarbūsh nearly gave in to the pressure of the awlād al-salātīn to support Ḥasīb allāh, (or perhaps more correctly Ḥasaballah), another son of Muḥammad al-Faḍl, as candidate until he was reminded by the malik karkwa Ḥamid that he, Adam Tarbūsh had threatened to kill Ḥasaballah's uncle. But it was the fellow Meidobī, Ḥasan Abū Kabīr, the father of one of the previous conspirators, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, who urged Adam Tarbūsh to install Muḥammad al-Husayn. So the fāḳī Salāma b. Mālik was sent to bring Muḥammad al-Husayn to the palace, where he was installed as sultan. Nachtigal describes the final scene,

"The same night, two dignitaries, the Basi Omar and Ḥasan Abū Kabīr, were



despatched to rouse the most distinguished officials and men from their sleep, and to administer to them the oath of loyalty which was to be taken on the Quran. In the early morning the drums and the musket shots of the troops who had occupied the palace sounded, and the Sherif Brahim went with the Melik Ahmed ibn-Dardok to Abu Bekr, to inform him of Hasin's installation, which he was unwilling to believe, although Hasin himself sent to him. Only when his mother, Kattuma, and his sister, Zemzem, had convinced him of the truth did he send his troops home, called his brother Hasin a perjurer, and persisted in his surly, if not hostile, mood." (4)

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(4) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 396 from the translation of A.G.B. and H.J. Fisher; Ahmad b. Dardōk was a member of the Berti shartai family of al-Tuwaysha, see above 172. Salāma b. Mālik, a son of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān's friend, later became a wazīr to the new sultan, who gave him an hakura at Gurunbedi, near Wadā<sup>c</sup>a in Dār Mīma. He later served as an official to the Turco-Egyptian regime and was killed by bandits during the Mahdīya; Ahmad Amīn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hamīd, interview al-Fāshir 7.5.1970.



the magādm were . . . But now the new sultan had very nearly been installed in the wrong palace, since his installation appears to have taken place in tong baasi ( Fur, "The Royal House" ), a new palace built by Muhammad al-Fadl on the southern side of Rahad Tandaltī. The same group of conspirators who had attempted to put Sayf al-Dīn or Bōsh on the throne, tried again. They proposed to seize the old palace, where the royal regalia and drums were, and set up another sultan; evidently possession of the royal regalia was crucial to the legitimacy of the sultanate. The plot was however betrayed to the sultan and the conspirators punished. (5)

Both Muhammad al-Fadl and his son further strengthened their position vis-à-vis the title-holding class. It was probably in the middle years of Muhammad al-Fadl's reign that the new title emerged, magdūm ( Arabic, plural magādīm ). (6) It has been suggested that

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(5) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 397. On the importance of the drums see above 138 and 216 and glossary. Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 485, reproduces a seal of Muhammad al-Husayn which says that he began his reign on Wednesday 12 Safar 1254, which appears to be 7 May 1838 - a Saturday.

(6) We have no precise date, but the title is not mentioned by al-Tūnisī and the first holder appears to have been Musallim in Kordofan. I have found no other reference to the form, magdūm outside Dār Fūr at this period, although magdūm and muqaddam were used interchangeably in the Mahdist state for



the maqādīm were provincial governors who gradually superseded in fact if not in name the traditional rulers, the takanāwī, abbo shaykh daali, aba diimang and aba uumang, as rulers of the four quadrants into which the sultanate was divided, dār al-gharb ( west ), dār al-rīh ( north ), dār al-sabāh ( east ) and dār al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd ( south ), but the process seems to have been more complex. (7) In origin at least, the maqādīm were commissioners, who could be either slaves or title-holders, sent out by the sultan for a specific purpose and for a limited period. Usually after completing their missions they returned to their original positions. (8)

A maqadūm, while on service, seems to have been regarded as the embodiment of the sultan's power; thus when <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz was sent south to fight the

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(6) contd. officials subordinate to the umarā'; P.M. Holt, The Mahdist State in the Sudan, London second edition, 1970, 105-6. The form, muqaddam, was used in several titles in the Sinnār sultanate; see above 220 and Abū Salīm, Al-Funj wa'l-ard, 52-3.

(7) Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 471; Arkell, S.N.R., XXXIII/1, 1952, 133 and Theobald, Alī Dīnār, 210. The term, al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd, must have been adopted from the Nile Valley, since it means literally "upstream".

(8) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 421.



Rizayqāt as maqdūm, Muhammad al-Husayn sent him, as insignia of his office, various ritual sultanic objects, a turban, a royal spear, a royal chair, a Qur'an and a carpet, but not a drum, and he was honoured by the people as if he were the sultan himself. (9) A maqdūm's powers were considerable; under certain circumstances he could impose the death penalty, and his authority, in the area in which he was, overrode that of the local title-holders. (10) The advantages of the new system to the sultans are obvious; not only were the maqādīm more dependent on the sultan than the territorially or tribally based title-holders, but they seem to have been more useful in dealing with the increasingly grave threats from the Arabs that lived north and south of the sultanate that faced the sultans in the mid and late nineteenth century. And it was in the north and south that the maqdūm system

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(9) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 399, and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 471.

(10) Mudīriya, Western District Handbook. A brief historical note on the forms of administration in western Darfur from the time of sultan Mohammad Fadl till the present day, (1938), Boustead, 16.2.1938 and Sudan Library, U.K., (Bence Pembroke), Darfur Province; Geographical and Tribal Distribution on Reoccupation, 1916. This last report contains valuable information on the judicial aspects of the sultanic system of administration.

22.2.1931.



became institutionalised. (11)

In northern Dār Fūr or dār al-rīh, the takanāwī does appear to have faded out and to have been replaced by a new line of governors who held the title maqdūm dār al-rīh. The emergence of this position is complicated, but it appears that in the time of Muhammad al-Fadl the title of abbo iringa, who traditionally governed parts of north-eastern Dār Fūr, was given to the Meidobī, Hasan Abū Kabīr. (12) It seems that in the first instance it was the title, abbo iringa which superseded

(11) Teobald, ʿAlī Dīnār, 210, implies that Ahmad Shatta and ʿAbdullāhī Runga ( not Ranga ) were hereditary maqdūm and their offices died with them when they were killed at Manawāshī in 1874. But ʿAbdullāhī Runga was a Dinka slave and although he was appointed maqdūm in dār al-gharb, there is no record of any other appointment to that post and as a slave, his position could hardly have been hereditary, and although Ahmad Shatta was maqdūm dār al-ḡaʿīd, no other member of his lineage ever held the title.

(12) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 395, describes Hasan as in the service of the abbo iringa, but maqdūm Yūsuf Muhammad Sharīf claimed his family held the title; Law Archives, U.K., NDD.SCR.66.E., letter from V.E.F. Eyre to Governor/Darfur, containing a deposition by Yūsuf Muhammad Sharīf, and Mailis, FD.66.K.15 Azagarfa Omodia, note Bredin 22.2.1931.



that of takanāwī, since the maqdūm Musallim also held the title; this may be a reflection of the relatively greater importance of the northern Dār Fūr/Kordofan border region as compared with north-western Dār Fūr. (13) It was possibly after Musallim's death that Hasan Abū Kabīr was created first abbo iringa and given an hākūra at Turra in Dār Wanna, and later maqdūm. (14) The maqdūm whose centre was at Kobbei, ruled over twelve shartavāt and the position became hereditary in the family of Hasan Abū Kabīr.

In southern Dār Fūr, or dār al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd, the maqdūm's command did indeed become institutionalised as the maqdūmiyat dār al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd, but the area the command covered was never clearly defined nor was the title ever hereditary, until Condominium times, in one family. (15) Here the rise of the maqdūmiya appears to be associated with the series of ineffectual campaigns against the Baqqāra carried out in the time of Muhammad al-Husayn. (16) The maqdūmiyat dār al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd included ro diima and ro umma and when there was a maqdūm in the south the aba diimang and the aba ummang

(13) Arkell Papers, file 13, note of a conversation with fāki Ahmad Adam al-Kinānī and see above, 192-3.

(14) D'Escayrac de Lauture, Memoirs, 95 and Mailis, FD.66.  
K.15 Azagarfa Omodia, note Bredin 22.2.1931.

(15) Mudīriya, Nyala District Handbook, a list of the maqdūm of dār al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd from maqdūm <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān Adam Rijāl.

(16) See below, 262-7.

presumably borrowed from that used for Muhammad 'Alī's conscript troops. Shart al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd is the local term for the month of Jumada al-Ula.



were subordinate to him. Boustead collected some information on his functions,

"A magdum of the West lived in Darra (Dāra) a Beigo, one of the and visited Western Darfur from time to time, with a Jehadia (jihādiya) of troops to assist in border wars with Dar Sullu (Dār Sīla?) and Dar Masalit and to suppress perhaps the most tribal troubles. Annually about the time of the 1st. Dahiya the magdum would collect all the shartais from Western Darfur and take them into Fasher with him to meet the Sultan at the tribal gathering. At the same time, thieves and murderers were taken in by the magdum and the shartais as well as a good deal of "Mal", fines and dues". (17)

The sultanate under Muhammad al-Fadl and his son was much more of a multi-tribal affair; several leading officials of the state during this period were no longer Fur. Adam Tarbūsh and his son, Bakhīt, were Meidobī,

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(17) Mudiriya, Western District Handbook. A brief historical note on the forms of administration in western Darfur from the time of Mohammed Fadl till the present day, (1938), Boustead, 16.2.1938. The jihādiya were a body of slaves armed with muskets, see below 257; the term, jihādiya, was presumably borrowed from that used for Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Alī's conscript troops. Dahiya al-Ula is the local form for the month of Jumada al-Ula.



as was Hasan Abū Kabīr; the maqdūm, <sup>C</sup>Abdullāhī Runga, who served during the reign of Muhammad al-Husayn in western Dār Fūr, was a Dinka slave; the wazīr <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Bārī was a Beigo, one of several of that tribe whom Muhammad al-Fadl elevated to high positions. (18)

The system of maqdūm and the use of slaves and non-Fur cut across the old system, but perhaps the most radical departure from the administrative system of the past was in the geographical extension of the hākūra system. (19) The principles upon which the hākūra system operated were complex and appear to have varied from one locality to another, but there were at least two main types of hawākīr. The hākūrat al-īāh was granted usually to fugarā, women of the royal family and awlād al-salātīn; the ordinary hākūra could be granted to similar people, but normally went to title-holders and

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(18) See above 215; on <sup>C</sup>Abdullāhī Runga, Sabīl Adam Ya<sup>C</sup>qūb, interview al-Fāshir 4.6.1970 and on <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Bārī, Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 395. The Beigo were the tribe of Muhammad al-Fadl's mother, Umm Būza, and were much favoured by the sultan. see above

(19) I have not attempted in this thesis to describe in detail the hākūra system, since such an account must be based on the documents photographed by Professor Tubiana (fifteen from Dōr in Dār Zaghāwa) and by myself (seventy from al-Fāshir region). J.P. Fourcade, "Documents arabes interessant l'histoire du Dār Fūr", Dossiers de la R.C.P. n° 45, I, 1968, 35-53, has made a preliminary assessment of the Dōr letters.



court officials. Neither type of grant was usually hereditary, although in some cases the sultan seems to have specified that the grant was to pass to the heirs of the grantee. (20)

An essential difference between the two varieties of hawākīr was that the hākūrat al-jāh was exempt from all taxes, including zakāt and fiṭr, the basic Muslim taxes paid at the end of Ramadān, and no state officials could enter such an hākūra. (21) The ordinary hākūra was liable to both zakāt and fiṭr, although the sīd or sāhib al-hākūra could take all other payments customarily paid to the sultan's representatives, such as the sultan's share of blood-money and taxes on crops. (22) The sīd al-hākūra could also in effect sub-let parts of his grant to any one he wished on payment to him of certain dues; the

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(20) Thus in an hākūrat al-jāh granted by Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn in 1263/1846-7 to al-Ḥājj Ahmad b. ʿIsā, who married the sultan's daughter, mavram Fāṭima Umm Idrīs, the sultan specifies that the grant should pass to al-Ḥājj Ahmad's descendants; the letter (ḥuṭiṭ hākūra) is reproduced in Shuqayr, Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, 476. But another from the same sultan ends with the phrase, "unless afterwards another sultan takes my place" implying the grant was not to be regarded as hereditary; Arkell Papers, file 16, ff. 60-1.

(21) This is specifically stated in the two letters referred to in note 20.

(22) Malik Rihaymtallāh Muḥammad, interview al-Fāshir 7.6.1970.



sub-grantee was called sīd al-fa's ( Arabic, "master of the axe" ) and when he relinquished his lease the land reverted to the sīd al-hākūra. (23) The evidence on the evolution of the hākūra system suggests that, apart from grants to fugarā' which tended to remain in the same family particularly when they related to the maintenance of a mosque, the earlier sultans had kept a tight rein on the system and that hawākir were taken back upon the death or loss of favour of the original grantee. (24) Thus the amīn Muhammad b. <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Dokumī had originally been granted an hākūra by <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd al-Rahmān, which was later in 1221/1807-8, given by Muhammad al-Fadl to the wazīr Hāmīd. (25) A grant from Muhammad al-Husayn

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(23) Ahmad and Hāmīd Adam Abbo, interview Kattāl 19.6.1970

(24) There was in fact a third type of hākūra grant, whereby the sultan granted usufruct rights over a group of villages to a fugarā' family for the maintenance of a mosque. I was able to collect documents and information on several of these in the al-Fāshir region; at al-Firsh, where the fugarā' family of Muhammad Hadūj al-Kinānī were granted an hākūra by Tayrāb which they still hold ( hākūra are still recognised as valid titles to land by the present Sudan Government ); documents and interview, <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdullāhī Jiddaw Muhammad, al-Fāshir 13.5.1970, and at Jadīd al-Sayl, see above 184-5. In these cases zakāt and fiṭr were paid to the sultan.

(25) Fourcade, Dossiers de la R.C.P. n° 45, I, 1968, 43-5.

186-7; and Shugayr, al-Jazīra 473.



in 1263/1846-7 to his son-in-law al-Hājj Ahmad b. <sup>C</sup>Isā records that the hākūra had previously belonged to a malik Kartakayla, then to a malik <sup>C</sup>Abdullāhī Karqāsh, then to the maqdūm <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz, and then to Umm Būza, the mother of Muhammad al-Faḍl, before it was granted to al-Hājj Ahmad. (26)

Hākūra grants could be either of a group of villages or rights over a tribal section, nomad or otherwise; <sup>C</sup>Umar al-Tūnisī was given an hākūra of three villages, al-Hājj Ahmad's grant included a section of the Mahriya nomads. (27)

Muhammad al-Faḍl and his son not only granted hawākīr in greater numbers than before, they also granted them in the Fur areas west of Jabal Marra, which appears to have been an innovation. There are few records of hawākīr west of Jabal Marra before Muhammad al-Faḍl but from his time on virtually every shartāyat in ro diima was carved up into hawākīr. Thus, to give only two examples, the shartāya Dār Nyoma in ro diima was split up by Muhammad al-Husayn into eleven hawākīr, which were granted to various members of the Keira clan and to slaves of the sultan; Umm Haraz in Dār Kerne, which had originally consisted of four small shartāyāt, was reorganised by the same sultan into an hākūra which was granted to a mayram.

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(26) Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 476.

(27) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 67-9, Darfour, 48-9 and see above 186-7; and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 478.



Daw al-Na<sup>3</sup>Im, a granddaughter of Muḥammad Tayrāb. (28)

Another source of strength to the sultans, firearms, began to make an appearance in greater numbers during this period, despite the ban on their export to the sultanate imposed by Muḥammad <sup>C</sup>Alī Pasha. (29) Muḥammad al-Faḍl is said to have equipped his bodyguards with firearms and to have had a few cannon. (30) Muḥammad al-Husayn seems to have attempted to organise bands of jihādīya slave troops of the Turco-Egyptians and the bazingers of the slave traders of the Bahr al-Ghazāl. (31) But this military revolution had probably not gone far before the end of the sultanate; <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Wahhāb, an envoy of the ruler of Egypt, Muḥammad Sa<sup>C</sup>īd Pasha, to the Dār Fūr sultan,

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(28) Mudīriya, Western District Handbook; note on Dār Suro (including Dār Nyoma), Boustead (undated), and further notes on the dimligia of Umm Haraz (Kerne), Beaton 17.1.1938. Boustead and Beaton were able to collect details of hawākīr for every shartāvāt in ro diima. (34)

(29) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 30.

(30) Mengin, Histoire de L'Égypte, 233, but Holroyd, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, IX, 1839, 173, while in Kordofan in 1837 was told that the army of Dār Fūr had no firearms. 1863, 27-114. The figure of 70,000 presumably

(31) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 403 and Shuqayr, Ta<sup>3</sup>rikh al-Sūdān, 465. On the jihādīya and bazingers, see Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 138 and 140.

(34) Brown, Imperial, 300. The numbers given seem excessive.



who visited the sultanate in 1862, reported back that the Keira army consisted of about 3,000 cavalry, of whom only 600 to a 1,000 were heavily armed, and some 70,000 infantry, who were badly armed and did not have firearms. (32)

the camel-nomads being either dispersed or incorporated into the state, but the constant conflict against the cattle-

### The Sultans and the Arabs.

The sultanate in the eighteenth century appears to have had only marginal contact with the Arab nomads north and south of the central zone, but from the time of Tayrāb onwards, with the great expansion of the state, Keira/Arab relations became increasingly important. Tayrāb campaigned ineffectually against the Rizayqāt Baqqāra and his successor, ʿAbd al-Rahmān, had Misīriya allies in his war against Ishāq. (33) It was in ʿAbd al-Rahmān's time that Browne reported that the Baqqāra were supposed to pay a tenth in tribute, which if it were paid regularly would amount to 4,000 head of cattle. But they had not paid for two years and so an expedition was sent against them which seized and brought back 12,000 head of cattle. (34)

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(32) S.N.R., XXIV, 1941, 153, quoting from T. von Heuglin, "Berichte und Arbeiten über den Ägyptischen Sudan und die Länder westlich und südlich von Chartum", Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1863, 97-114. The figure of 70,000 presumably refers to the number of tribal levies the sultan could in theory call out; it can hardly refer to a standing army.

(33) See above 174.

(34) Browne, Travels, 300. The numbers given seem excessive.



But the reigns of Muhammad al-Faḍl and his son saw an almost continual series of campaigns against the Arab camel-nomads of the north and the cattle-nomads of the south. In general the northern campaigns were successful, the camel-nomads being either dispersed or incorporated into the state, but the campaigns against the cattle-nomads were not very effective and the continual conflict with the Baqqāra, particularly the Rizayqāt, was to be a major factor in the downfall of the state. (37)

It is difficult to be certain of the reasons for these conflicts, but in the north at least, the encroachment of the Sahara and the consequent drying up of the wells may have forced the camel-nomads south and into conflict with the settled peoples of the sultanate. Pressure from the Zaghāwa may have had the same effect. (35) In the case of the southern nomads, encroachment on the settled people may have been a factor, but probably more important was the sultan's desire to control the trade routes, used by the jallāba in increasing numbers throughout Muhammad al-Husayn's reign, from the Bahr al-Ghazāl region northwards through Dār Baqqāra. (36)

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(35) Some of the northern camel-nomads have traditions that their original grazing grounds were around Wādī Sharangōl, about a hundred miles north of Kutum, an area which is now completely dry; Mudīriya, DP.66.B.3, Northern Rizayqat, note Dupuis 26.6.1925.

(36) See below 263.



The main tribes in northern Dār Fūr at this period appear to have been the Mahāmīd and Mahriya in the north-west, the <sup>c</sup>Irayqāt and Umm Jalūl in the centre and the Zayādīya in the east, bordering on Kordofan. The Fazāra confederation, if it had existed, seems to have drifted apart early on and by the nineteenth century was no more than a memory; it was possibly out of the debris of the Fazāra that new tribal groupings emerged such as the Zayādīya in Dār Fūr and the Kabābīsh in northern Kordofan. (37)

The Zayādīya, who lived further south than the other tribes, seem always to have enjoyed good relations with the sultans, and it was the <sup>c</sup>Irayqāt, and to a lesser extent the Mahāmīd, who bore the brunt of the Keira onslaught. But the Mahāmīd were at least able to seek refuge in Wadai where the main body of the tribe lived and where the tribe had a favoured position within the sultanate. (38)

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(37) See above, 42-3. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 139, Darfūr, 129, gives as members of the Fazāra group, the Mahāmīd, Majānīn, Banī <sup>c</sup>Amrān, Banī Jarrār and Misīriya Zurq. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, 481, lists the Mahāmīd, <sup>c</sup>Irayqāt, Jilaydāt ( a small tribe still in northern Dār Fūr ), and Ta<sup>c</sup>āisha as being in Dār Fūr along with several unidentified names. On the Kabābīsh, see T. Asad, S.N.R., XLVII, 1966, 79-87.

(38) Mudīriya, DP.66.B.3, Northern Rizayqat, notes Dupuis 26.6.1925 and Charles 1948. On the Mahāmīd in Chad, see Le Rouvreur, Sahariens et Sahéliens, 344-50.



Abd al-Rahmān came into conflict with the camel-nomads; Browne recorded that during his visit (1793-1796) the Mahriya and the Mahāmīd fought between themselves. To punish them, the sultan sent a malik with about sixty cavalry, who seized half the camels they could find, and, "where they found five took three, as the fifth could not be divided." (39) Nachtigal reported that the ʿIrayqāt derided the rule of Muhammad al-Faḍl because he was still so young. An expedition was sent north under the ḥaasi ʿUmar, who seized every fifth camel from the tribe. But the trouble continued and seven years later a larger expedition was sent, which met with disaster. Finally the wazīr ʿAbd al-Sīd was sent north and he crushed the ʿIrayqāt, seven of whose chiefs were executed in al-Fāshir before the sultan. It was the end of the ʿIrayqāt as a distinct tribal entity in Dār Fūr. (40) The camel-nomads were more vulnerable to Keira reprisals than their cousins in the south since they had nowhere to retreat except the desert.

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(39) Browne, Travels, 300-1.

(40) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 390-1, and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 45-6. Slatin's remark that the sultan ordered the Mahriya, Mahāmīd and Nū<sup>c</sup>ayba to move north into the lands formerly occupied by the ʿIrayqāt, seems to be based on a misunderstanding; there are Mahāmīd, Mahriya and Nū<sup>c</sup>ayba sections among both the Baqqāra and ḡammāla Arabs of Dār Fūr.



and al-Fashir, where In the south the Banī Halba were the particular object of Muḥammad al-Faḍl's punitive measures. Of all the Baqqāra tribes, the Banī Halba have perhaps the most intimate relationship with the settled people to the north of them, in this case the Fur of the Wādī Azūm, where the Banī Halba spend most of the year ( September to February ) before going south to the Bahr al-<sup>c</sup>Arab. (41) Again Nachtigal records that it was the wealth and independence of the Banī Halba that the sultan objected to and they paid a terrible price in the notorious "bloodbath of the Banī Halba" which laid the tribe low for at least a generation. (42) advantage of the new c It was, however, the Rizayqāt and their allies the Habbāniya and Ma<sup>c</sup>ālīya who put up the greatest resistance to the sultans. The Rizayqāt dār in south-eastern Dār Fūr was poorly watered and not easily accessible and the tribe's nomadic cycle made them very difficult to attack. From March to June they graze their cattle on the Bahr al-<sup>c</sup>Arab and then in June begin to move north into their own dār but often go as far as Dār Birged

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(41) G. Håland, "Economic determinants in ethnic processes", F. Barth (ed.), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, 58-73.

(42) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 390, and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 45. The Banī Halba proved as much of a problem to the Mahdists and to <sup>c</sup>Alī Dīnār; Holt, Mahdist State, second edition, 165 and Theobald, <sup>c</sup>Alī Dīnār, 136-7.

the sultanate, most of whom came from Berber and Fula.

See also Holt, Modern History of the Sudan, 68-7.



and al-Fāshir, where they stay from about September to January, when they begin to move south again. (43) As the most numerous of the Baqqāra tribes, the Rizayqāt were a constant thorn in the side of the Keira, but by the 1850s their homelands were in the middle of a new trading network. In the 1840s traders from Khartoum, both Sudanese and European, had begun to penetrate through to the Bahr al-Ghazāl, the traditional hunting ground for slaves of both the Baqqāra and the sultans. To the trading stations set up by the Khartoum traders in the Bahr al-Ghazāl flocked the jallāba from the sultanate, hoping to take advantage of the new commercial openings. With the attempts to abolish the slave trade in Egypt and the Turco-Egyptian Sudan by Muhammad Sa'īd Pasha from 1854 on, the clandestine trade routes from the Bahr al-Ghazāl to Dār Fūr became very important. And many of these routes passed through territory controlled by the Rizayqāt. (44)

But the Keira campaigns against the Rizayqāt began before the southern routes became so important. As part of his general military activity against

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(43) Mudīrīya, Nyala District Handbook, note by Lampen (undated).

(44) R. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, London 1961, 58-69, who also quotes Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 457, saying that there were about 5,000 jallāba households in the sultanate, most of whom came from Berber and Dongola. See also Holt, Modern History of the Sudan, 62-4.



the Arab nomads, Muhammad al-Faḍl appointed the abbo soming dogala Sa<sup>c</sup>Id, maḡdūm and sent him against the Rizayqāt.

Sa<sup>c</sup>Id appears to have been comparatively successful and was able to capture the Rizayqāt chief by a trick. (45)

Muhammad al-Husayn is said to have organised eighteen campaigns against the Rizayqāt, none of which were decisive. The main result of the campaigns was to create a state of chaos in southern Dār Fūr which was inimical to the interests of the slave traders of the Bahr al-Ghazāl. It was one of these traders, al-Zubayr Rahma, who eventually destroyed the sultanate. (46)

The first campaign appears to have been begun by the abbo soming dogala <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz on his own initiative, and its progress illustrated the difficulties of fighting the Rizayqāt. At first the Dār Fūr army was able to seize considerable numbers of cattle, but as they were returning north, they were ambushed by the Rizayqāt and

(45) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 391. What the political organisation of the Rizayqāt was at this time is not known; it may be doubted that there was a strong centralised chieftanship as later emerged under Madibbū b. <sup>c</sup>Alī and his son, Mūsā.

(46) I describe these campaigns at length both because of their intrinsic interest and because they suggest that the Baqqāra upheaval during the Mahdīya (1882-1898) was due to factors that first appeared some twenty years before. On the Baqqāra in Dār Fūr during the Mahdīya, see Slatin, Fire and Sword, 148-70, 181-227 and 244-78.



all the Dar Fur notables with the army, except for <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz, killed. (47) The sultan was furious and <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz was brought home in disgrace and condemned to death, but he was able to postpone his fate by a judicious bribe to the sultan; indeed the sultan made him magdūm dār al-sa<sup>C</sup>Id. (48)

For three years <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz ruled in peace as magdūm from Dāra, but then began a series of campaigns against both the Rizayqāt and Habbāniya. The Habbāniya, since their territory was more accessible, were successfully coerced but the Rizayqāt were once more able to escape towards the Bahr al-<sup>C</sup>Arab. Finally, <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz was ordered by the sultan, who sent him a letter of commission with a red seal and a red headcloth - both bad omens - to try and crush the offending nomads once and for all, but in a tremendous three day battle the magdūm's army was destroyed

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(47) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 398-9. One of the notables killed was the baasi Nyombe b. Nūh, see above 244. It is probable that since both Sa<sup>C</sup>Id and <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz are described as abbo soming dogala, they were members of the lineage of Ibrāhīm b. Ramād, since the title appears to have been hereditary in that family.

(48) See above 251 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 399.



and he himself killed. (49) Fifty other notables. (51)

Following the death of <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz, the sultan appointed Khalīl b. <sup>C</sup>Abd al-Sīd, a son of the waṣīr who had failed in the Wadai expedition, maḥdūm dār al-sa<sup>C</sup>īd. Khalīl was joined by Hasan Abū Kabīr, maḥdūm dār al-rīḥ, and the abbo shaykh daali Rahma Gomo, maḥdūm dār al-sabāḥ, and all three set out in search of the Rizayqāt. But the three maḥdūm were no more successful than <sup>C</sup>Abd al-<sup>C</sup>Azīz; Hasan Abū Kabīr's son was killed in an ambush and eventually the army had to retreat because of lack of food. (50) The significance of these long and

exhausting campaigns is In yet another series of campaigns the waṣīr Adam Tarbūsh was no more successful than his predecessors, until he, again like his predecessors, attempted a major expedition south into the marshy lands just north of the Bahr al-<sup>C</sup>Arab. Trapped in a marsh,

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(49) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 400-1. The seal on sultanic documents is customarily black, although on two letters from <sup>C</sup>Ali Dīnār that I photographed in al-Fāshir the seal was red.

(50) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 401-2, who says the leaders on the Rizayqāt side were "Dschema al-Harro" from the Habbāniya and fakī Abū Bakr from the Mahāmīd section of the Rizayqāt; it is worth noting that the Madibbū family come from the Umm Dahīya khashm al-bayt of the Mahriya section of the Rizayqāt; MacMichael, History, 1, 290-2.



Tarbūsh was killed along with fifty other notables. (51)

After the death of Tarbūsh there was a peace of exhaustion. The son of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Azīz, Ahmad Shatta was appointed magdūm in the south and is said to have spent fifteen years building up a body of troops equipped with firearms to use against the Rizayqāt. He too fought a series of campaigns against the nomads, but despite his firearms and even a cannon, was still not able to achieve a decisive result, although he appears to have had some success. (52)

The significance of these long and exhausting campaigns in the context of a prelude to the invasion of al-Zubayr was that they revealed the inadequacy of Keira military organisation and its inability to deal with nomads. The northern nomads, whether Arab or Zaghāwa, could either be won over or at least controlled, but the Baqqāra, because of their southern escape routes, could neither be coerced nor cajoled. It is possible to argue that because of the importance of northern Dār Fūr to the sultans, a policy, including marriage alliances and military campaigns,

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(51) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 402-3. Brun-Rollet, Le Nil Blanc, 45 and 129 also briefly describes these campaigns.

(52) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 403-4. Ahmad Shatta held the title, malik saaringa, before being appointed magdūm and after the death of the wazīr Khalīl b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Sīd he was appointed wazīr in his place.



to deal with the camel-nomads had been evolved in the time Ahmad Bukr and Muhammad Tayrāb. Since there had been no need, there had been no policy evolved for the Baqqāra. Before the rise of the Bahr al-Ghazāl slave trade, this inability to deal with the Baqqāra did not matter, since the commercial lifeline of the sultanate was in the north. Indeed the sultans and the Baqqāra probably complemented each other, the former as middlemen the latter as suppliers of slaves. But the presence of the slave traders in the Bahr al-Ghazāl changed this; the nomads were now a key factor in the commercial prosperity of the state and were still outside the control of the sultans. The campaigns had also obscured the significance of the rise to power in the Bahr al-Ghazāl of al-Zubayr Rahma.

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(54) The text of the *Al-Bihar* is given in J.C. Savaris, *The Downfall of the Keira*, Princeton 1956, 2 vols., 1, 120; 2, 200.

Muhammad al-Husayn continued the policy of cautious defiance towards his Turco-Egyptian neighbours that his father had practised. The threat of Abū Madyan continued into his reign; an expedition was in fact prepared to put Abū Madyan on the throne in Dār Fūr, but the plan fell through when the Turco-Egyptian Governor, Ahmad Pasha Abū Widān, died in 1843. (53) But Muhammad

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(53) Werne, *African Wanderings*, 6 and R.L. Hill, *On the Frontiers of Islam*, Oxford 1970, 173.



ʿAlī Pasha, on the basis of a farmān granted him by the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Majīd (1839-1861) on 13 February 1841, still continued to regard Dār Fūr as part of his dominions. (54) The same Ottoman sultan is said to have given a farmān to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn supporting the independence of Dār Fūr. (55)

Apart from the not very serious threat of Abū Madyan, which completely disappeared upon the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in 1849, relations between the Turco-Egyptians and the Keira sultanate were peaceful. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Saʿīd Pasha, ruler of Egypt from 1854 to 1863, even exchanged presents, the latter sending a carriage and horses. (56) Muḥammad Saʿīd received in Cairo an envoy from the sultan, the Tijanī ʿAlīm

(54) The text of the farmān is given in J.C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, Princeton 1956, 2 vols., I, 120; see also Holt E.I.<sup>2</sup> II, 123.

(55) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 487, who also refers to a similar farmān from sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-1876). Keira/Turco-Egyptian relations are to be examined in a forthcoming article in African and Asian Studies. (Prague) by L. Kropáček.

(56) Shuqayr, Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, 464, who gives an amusing account of the sultan's puzzlement with his present.

(59) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 487.

Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, 464.



Muhammad b. Mukhtār al-Shinqīṭī. (57) Having a common interest in quelling the nomads, the sultan was equally agreeable to the governor of Kordofan occupying the border regions of Katūl, Kāja and Sōdirī in an effort to control the Kabābīsh, who had a long tradition of conflict with the tribes of northern Dār Fūr. (58)

In 1856 the sultan, despite the efforts of holy men from all over the bilād al-Sūdān, went blind and much of the administration of the state was taken over by his sister, the liyaḥ baasi Zamzam. (59)

Despite outwardly friendly relations between the rulers of Dār Fūr and Egypt, the former had well-founded suspicions of the latter's intentions and as a consequence a policy of sealing Dār Fūr off from the outside world was practised. But Dār Fūr's "Iron Curtain" need not be exaggerated; after the conquest of Kordofan Muhammad al-Faḍl tried to prevent the Turco-Egyptians from

(57) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 103. Cuny, Journal de Voyage, 173, met al-Shinqīṭī in Kordofan in 1858. On al-Shinqīṭī, see J.S. Trimingham, Islam in the Sudan, London 1949, 237; he is said to have initiated the sultan into the Tijāniya tarīqa.

(58) Lejean, "Voyage au Kordofan", Tour du Monde, VII, 1863 29, and Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 103.

(59) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 407, and Shuqayr, Taḥrīkh al-Sūdān, 464-5.



finding too much out about the sultanate and that meant keeping out European would-be explorers. (60) During the Muhammad al-Husayn's reign, in 1848 the German traveller von Müller reached the Dār Fūr/Kordofan border but was dissuaded by his guide from entering the sultanate. (61) But the Keira reputation for inhospitability rests largely on the episode of Charles Cuny. Cuny, a French doctor and a friend of Flaubert, attempted to reach Dār Fūr from Kordofan in 1858. It seems certain that he reached al-Fāshir, where he either died of natural causes or was murdered on the orders of the sultan. The former seems the more likely, since when the Austrian Consul at Khartoum, Natterer, wrote to the sultan to ask permission for the explorers Munzinger and Kinzelbach to pass through Dār Fūr on their way to discover what had happened to Vogel, who had been murdered, the sultan replied favourably. He also agreed to a similar request from the Pethericks, although none of the explorers

(60) See above 225 for the episode of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Karīm.

De Lauture, Désert et le Soudan, 427, met in Cairo an illiterate French soldier who went to Dār Fūr and offered to make gunpowder for Muhammad al-Husayn, but the sultan declined the offer and threw him out of the sultanate.

(61) J.W. von Müller, "Travels in Africa, 1847-9", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XX, 1851, 283.

Shuqayr, Tārīkh al-Sūdān, 568-601, which formed the basis of H.C. Jackson, Black Ivory, Khartoum 1913.



took up the invitation. (62)

The sultan's preoccupation with the Rizayqāt and the remote threat of the Turco-Egyptians seems to have blinded him to the threat of the Bahr al-Ghazāl traders. By the end of Muhammad al-Husayn's reign the situation in the Bahr al-Ghazāl had changed radically. In 1856 the Ja<sup>c</sup>ālī trader, al-Zubayr Rahma, arrived in the Bahr al-Ghazāl. A man of outstanding ability and great ambition, he rapidly built up a trading empire, so that by 1865 he was virtual ruler of the Bahr al-Ghazāl. (63)

But as his empire grew he came into conflict with the imperial ambitions of Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl Pasha, ruler of Egypt from 1863 until his deposition in 1879; the Turco-Egyptian anti-slave trading measures and Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl's own plans in the

(62) On Cuny, see H. Roy, La Vie Héroïque et Romantique du Docteur Charles Cuny, Paris 1930, 140-3, quoting from a letter from the sultan, dated 7 Dhū<sup>l</sup>-Hijja/5.6.1862, to Natterer, in which he says that Cuny died of illness in al-Fāshir five days after arriving, and inviting the German travellers to pass through Dār Fūr. On the Pethericks, see Mr. and Mrs. J. Petherick, Travels in Central Africa, London 1869, 2 vols., 1, 40-3; the letter from the sultan is reproduced as the frontispiece to vol. 11.

(63) On al-Zubayr, see the autobiographical account in Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 568-601, which formed the basis of H.C. Jackson, Black Ivory, Khartoum 1913.



southern Sudan blocked al-Zubayr's routes through the White Nile. Thus in 1866, anxious to secure the alternative overland routes through Dār Fūr, he made an agreement with the Rizayqāt; it was this agreement that eight years later led to the downfall of the Keira state. (64)

But before al-Zubayr could exploit his possibilities to the north, he had to deal with a rival to his position in the Bahr al-Ghazāl. This was Muhammad al-Bulālāwī, who arrived in the Bahr al-Ghazāl in 1869 with the backing of the Turco-Egyptians. (65) Muhammad al-Bulālāwī was in origin a Bulāla fakī from the lake Fitri region in Chad who had spent some years at the court of Muhammad al-Husayn, who had treated him well and granted him an hakura. But the fakī quarrelled with the wazīr Ahmad Shatta and despite the sultan's support, left Dār Fūr. He apparently then went to the Turco-Egyptian authorities in Kordofan and Khartoum and pretended that he had a claim to Dār Fūr and Wadai because of his royal Bulāla blood. (66)

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(64) Gray, History of the Southern Sudan, 69; it is important to note that al-Zubayr made the agreement with the Rizayqāt and not with the sultan.

(65) Holt, Mahdist State, first edition 1953, 26 gives his nisba as al-Hilālī, but quotes from M.F. Shukry, The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan, Cairo 1938, 152, giving it as "al-Bellali".

(66) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 409-10. The Bulāla, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ruled Kanem and



He seems also to have claimed ownership of the copper mines at Hufrat al-Nuhās. (67) Whatever the truth of these claims, the governor in Khartoum, Ja<sup>c</sup>far Pasha, sent him to try and oust al-Zubayr in the Bahr al-Ghazāl. Instead Muhammad al-Bulālāwī was killed and his troops joined al-Zubayr. (68)

But the sultanate was not only threatened by al-Zubayr; the Khedive Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl had included Dār Fūr in his imperial plans. To this end he sent an army officer, Muhammad Nādī Bey, to al-Fāshir ostensibly on a diplomatic mission to the sultan, but in reality to spy out the land for an invasion. (69) On his return Muhammad Nādī Bey wrote a report on the practicability of an invasion, but nothing was done for the moment and in fact Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl was to be forestalled by al-Zubayr.

By 1873 al-Zubayr's agreement with the Rizayqāt had broken down; Nachtigal, who was in Dār Fūr the following year, records that Muhammad al-Husayn, just before his death, belatedly realising the danger from

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(66) contd. most of Wadai. On the Bulāla of lake Fitri, see F. Hagenbucher, "Notes sur les Bilala du Fitri", Cahiers d'O.R.S.T.O.M., série sciences humaines, V/4, 1968, 39-76.

(67) Gray, History of the Southern Sudan, 121.

(68) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 410 and Gray, History of the Southern Sudan, 121.

(69) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 134.



al-Zubayr induced the Rizayqāt to attack one of his caravans passing through their territory. (70) Al-Zubayr, in retaliation, invaded Dār Rizayqāt, and when, ironically, some of the defeated Rizayqāt sought refuge in the sultanate he complained to the sultan as their suzerain of their action. (71) But the sultan to whom al-Zubayr wrote on 1 Jumada I 1290/27 June 1873 was no longer Muhammad al-Husayn, but his son, Ibrāhīm.

The old sultan died some time in the spring or early summer of 1873. (72) Before his death, Muhammad al-Husayn had arranged with his confidants, Bakhit

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(70) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 413, and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 580.

(71) Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 580-1, giving the text of the letter; see also Jackson, Black Ivory, 56. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 414, comments, "He (i.e. al-Zubayr) had thus penetrated into the territory of Darfur itself, and if the Rezeqat could scarcely be considered subjects of Darfur, they were so in name, since in the last years of King Hasin's reign they had been reduced by the cleverness and energy of the vizier Ahmed Shettah to the condition of paying regular tribute."

(72) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 413, says that Muhammad al-Husayn's death was rapidly approaching in the spring of 1873. He was dead by June 1873, when al-Zubayr wrote to Ibrāhīm. But the new sultan did not write to the Khedive Ismā'īl announcing his father's death until the following year,



b. Ādam Tarbūsh and Khayr Qarīb, a Fertīt slave, that his younger son should succeed him. But even with the threat of al-Zubayr in the south hanging over the country, Ibrāhīm's accession was in danger of being disputed; a party, led by the fakī Dardarī and the wazīr Ahmad Shatta, preferred the eldest son, Abu'l-Bashar, who was in fact married to the wazīr's daughter. (73) Arkell recorded an account of what followed from a Baqirmāwī slave eunuch, who had been given as a present to Muhammad al-Husayn by the Wadai sultan,

"When sultan Hussein died, the umana having often heard Hussein's wishes, at once appointed Ibrahim without informing anyone.

That was the day of Meiram Zahra's wedding to Abdelgadir Dinga? son of Abu el Beshr or Hussein by the daughter of Ahmed Shatta.

All Fasher was feasting and rejoicing.

Suddenly the nahas sounded; and it got around that sultan Hussein was dead.

The umana sent for the wazir and said, who shall we make sultan? He said, Abukr, the eldest son. They said, lift the curtain, and then he saw Ibrahim already on the throne.

(72) contd. on 4 Rajab 1291/17 August 1874, J. Deny, Sommaire des Archives Turques au Caire, Cairo 1930, plate LIII.

(73) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 412-3, and Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 465-6, who gives a slightly different version.



al-Zubayr near He then craved forgiveness. In the battle that followed Then they sent for Melik Khamis el Burgawi were killed, and the same then happened. and the magdūm <sup>C</sup>Abdullāhī Khamis. The wazīr and melik Khamis were then kept the sultanate, under restraint for 30 days, since al-Zubayr now began to bring The sultan Ibrahim held an arda: and after the Bahr al-Gha that he allowed the wazīr and melik Khamis to resume their ranks." (74) authorities in

After the accession of Ibrāhīm, the wazīr, as magdūm dār al-sa<sup>C</sup>Id, was sent south to deal with al-Zubayr. From his base at Dāra, he joined forces with the malik al-nuhās Sa<sup>C</sup>d al-Nūr, son of the famous Ibrāhīm b. Ramād. Together, they attacked and defeated one of al-Zubayr's commanders in Dār Rizayqāt, al-Nūr Muhammad <sup>C</sup>Anqara. (75) But while the wazīr, despite his victory, felt it expedient to write a conciliatory letter to al-Zubayr, the sultan from al-Fāshir was writing warlike letters to the Rizayqāt and sending prominent men through the country on propaganda missions. (76) Eventually the wazīr, urged on by the new sultan and compelled by his own men, attacked retreated back towards al-Fāshir, but the retreat rapidly

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(74) Arkell Papers, file 14, folios 54-5. arda, a military review.

(75) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 414.

(76) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 414-5 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 583-8, who gives the names of the holy men.



al-Zubayr near Shakkā in January or February 1874. In the battle that followed the wazīr and eight other leading notables were killed, including the malik al-nubās and the maddūm <sup>c</sup>Abdullāhī Runga. (77) This battle sealed the fate of the sultanate, despite a lull of a few months, since al-Zubayr now began to bring up very considerable reinforcements from the Bahr al-Ghazāl, until he had some 7,000 men with him. (78)

The Turco-Egyptian authorities in Khartoum had been following al-Zubayr's progress anxiously and now began to act to forestall him in Dār Fūr. In February 1874 the Khedive Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl declared war on the sultan and ordered the Governor-General, Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl Ayyūb Pasha to concentrate his forces in western Kordofan to invade Dār Fūr. (79) But al-Zubayr was already on the move, having defeated another force, and reached Dāra, the capital of the maddūniyat dār al-sa<sup>c</sup>īd.

To Dāra came the sultan Ibrāhīm with his title-holders and what was left of his army. After some waiting the sultan appears to have attempted an attack on Dāra, which failed. The disheartened Dār Fūr army retreated back towards al-Fāshir, but the retreat rapidly turned into a rout. Finally the sultan with only his

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(77) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 111, 414-5 and Slatin, Fire and Sword, 51-2.

(78) Gray, History of the Southern Sudan, 122.

(79) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 137.



title-holders and bodyguard made a stand at Manawāshī, where on 23 October 1874 he was defeated and killed. On the orders of al-Zubayr, Ibrāhīm was buried at the Bornu mosque in Manawāshī. A week later al-Zubayr entered al-Fāshir where he was joined a few days afterwards by Ismāʿīl ʿAyyūb Pasha. (80) Dār Fūr after the Keira.

Al-Zubayr had conquered Dār Fūr for himself and receiving no satisfaction from the Governor-General, he went to Cairo to complain, only to be detained there by the Khedive. In Dār Fūr Ismāʿīl Pasha divided the new province into four districts roughly conforming to the old fourfold division of the sultanate. (81) The Keira Sultanate had apparently come to an end.

(82) Apparently, because in fact from 1874 until the restoration of the sultanate by ʿAlī Dīnār in 1898, Dār Fūr was anything but peaceful. Some of the Keira family with the royal regalia had been taken to Cairo after Manawāshī, but others withdrew into the mountains of Jabal Marra. (82) Here a series of shadow sultans rose and fell,

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(80) Slatin, Fire and Sword, 53-5, gives a vivid description of the end of Ibrāhīm.

(81) Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 138.

(82) Shuqayr, Taʾrikh al-Sūdān, 469. Some of the spoils from Manawāshī are described in E.S. Thomas, "The ethnographical



constantly thwarting the efforts of the European officials, among others, of the Turco-Egyptian administration to pacify the area. Although the Turco-Egyptian regime held the plains, the Fur tribal areas firmly adhered to the sultans. (83)

The Fur, at least, were still resisting in 1881 when the Mahdist revolt broke out in the Sudan. Slatin had to contend with a series of local revolts in support of the Mahdi and was finally forced to surrender to the Mahdists in December 1883 when Dār Fūr was cut out from all hope of relief by the disaster of Shaykān. (84)

But Mahdist rule brought Dār Fūr little peace. The first Mahdist governor of Dār Fūr, Muhammad Khālīd, took his army east in 1886 as part of a

(82) contd. collection of the Royal Geographical Society, Cairo", Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie, XII, 1923, 1-36 and 137-35.

(83) For a list of the shadow sultans, see P.M. Holt, "Dar Fur" E.I.<sup>2</sup> II, 121-5. Two of the officials wrote accounts for this period; Slatin, Fire and Sword, 54-121 and G.B. Messedaglia, Diario Storico Militare delle Revolte al Sudan da 1878 in Poi, Alexandria 1886.

(84) Slatin, Fire and Sword, 148-273 and Holt, Mahdist State second edition, 72-4. A detailed account of the Mahdist period in Dār Fūr can be found in Mūsā al-Mubārak, Ta'rikh Dār Fūr al-Siyāsī, 1882-1898, Khartoum 1970.



plot to overthrow the Mahdi's successor, the Khalīfa <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdullāhī, leaving behind in his place, Yūsuf, the son of Sultan Ibrāhīm. Yūsuf proclaimed himself sultan but was killed two years later by the Khalīfa's new governor, <sup>ʿ</sup>Uthmān Adam, who is still remembered in Dār Fūr for his ruthless pacification of the province. But in the same year a more serious revolt broke out in the western part of Dār Fūr under the fakī Abū Jummayza from Dār Tāma, who claimed magical powers and who was joined by the Keira supporters. (85) Although the revolt was crushed the Mahdists never fully regained control of Dār Fūr, and in 1896 the last Mahdist governor, Mahmud Ahmad, was recalled with his army by the Khalīfa to help counter the advance of the Anglo-Egyptian forces from the north.

After the defeat of the Khalīfa at Kararī in September 1898, a Keira claimant, <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Dīnār b. Zakarīya, a son of Sultan Muhammad al-Fadl, hurriedly returned with a group of Fur and other notables to Dār Fūr and declared himself sultan. (86) The newly-established Condominium government in the Sudan had no immediate wish to annexe Dār Fūr and from 1898 to 1916, <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Dīnār ruled the sultanate, reviving the old administrative system with certain modifications, driving back the Arab nomads who had encroached on the settled land during the chaos of the

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(85) Holt, Mahdist State, second edition, 157-9.

(86) See Theobald, <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Dīnār.



previous twenty years and becoming increasingly nervous of the French imperial advance from the west. His relations with the Condominium government deteriorated, chiefly mainly over the French issue, and in 1916, influenced by the Pan-Islamic propaganda of the Turks and the Sanūsīya in Libya, he declared war on the British. Dār Fūr was invaded, ʿAlī Dīnār's army defeated at Birinjīya near al-Fāshir and he himself killed a few months later.

The history of Dār Fūr under the Condominium was relatively peaceful, apart from a serious rising in Nyala in 1922 led by a Masālīt fakī. Dār Fūr continued to be isolated from the rest of the Sudan and was administered under a system of indirect rule through the tribal chiefs. Between 1929 and 1936, the British tried in part to revive the rule of the Keira in the Zalingei region, roughly the old province of ro diima. But the second ʿamir of Zalingei, Muḥammad al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Sultān Ibrāhīm, was dismissed in 1936.

Since the independence of the Sudan in 1956, Dār Fūr is slowly being brought into the life of the Sudan, a process aided by the opening of a railway to Nyala in 1959 and the development of tobacco growing around Jabal Marra. Today the Fur remember little of their sultanate, although some of the titles still survive.

it does not appear to have involved specific functions.

ʿAqīd (Ar.)

Not used as a title in Dār Fūr, but used by some Dār Fūr tribes for the head of a hunting party.



## GLOSSARY

This glossary attempts to give brief definitions of terms that appear in the thesis.

Aba Kuuri (Fur)

"Father of obeisance"; the Fur term for the Keira Sultan.

Abbo (Fur)

A title of respect, used when addressing an elder or notable; commonly prefixed to another title. In this glossary such titles are listed under the second name.

Abbo Aari (Fur)

Aari; an archaic Fur word for Sultan. A Fur title-holder, who took the sultan's place in certain public rituals.

Abo (Fur)

"Grandmother"; the title of the Sultan's mother, a position of little real power.

Abonga (Fur)

"Grandmothers"; widows and female relations of the sultan, some of whom had ritual functions.

Amīn, pl. umanā' (Ar.)

A court title that could apparently be held by either slaves or freemen; it does not appear to have involved specific functions.

<sup>c</sup>Aqīd (Ar.)

Not used as a title in Dār Fūr, but used by some Dār Fūr tribes for the head of a hunting party.



- ʿAqīd al-Sabāh (Ar.)** "ʿAqīd of the East"; the title of the governor of the eastern province of the Wadai Sultanate.
- ʿArda (Ar.)** A military review held several times a year before the sultan.
- Awlād al-Salātīn (Ar.)** "Children of the sultans"; a collective term for the sons of previous and reigning sultans.
- Bāb al-harīm (Ar.)** Orre daya (Fur), "the womens' door"; the entrance of the fāshir used by women and close confidants of the sultan.
- Bāb al-rijāl (Ar.)** Orre de (Fur), "the mens' door"; the public entrance to the fāshir.
- Baasi, pl. Baasinga (Fur)** A male member of the Keira family, who was in some measure responsible for the affairs of the family. The title became more loosely used and gave rise to numerous groups called baasinga.
- Baqqāra (Ar.)** The Arab cattle-owning tribes of southern Wadai, Dār Fūr and Kordofan.
- Bazinger (origin unknown)** Slave troops armed with firearms; the troops of the slave traders of the Bahr al-Ghazāl.
- Burāka (Ar.)** Armour made from quilted cotton for horses.



Abbo Daadinga (Fur)

Arabicised as Dadiniāwī. A court title, originally co-equal with the abbo kotingo; commanded the daadinga slave troops and administered the area south-east of al-Fāshir. The title still survives.

Daftardār (Arabicised Turkish)

The title of a financial official in Ottoman Egypt; the title of Muhammad Bey Khusrāw, who conquered Kordofan in 1821.

Dār (Ar.)

"House" or "home"; a tribal homeland or an administrative area.

Darrang tobu (Fur)

Mess president; responsible for the men's eating place in a Fur village.

Dhurra (Ar.)

Sorghum vulgare; millet.

Dīya (Ar.)

Payment made in compensation in cases of accidental or voluntary homicide.

Ḫilāf wakīl (Fur and Ar.)

In the time of the sultanate, a proportion was paid to the sultan.

Fakī, anomalous pl. fuqarā (classical Ar. fuqarā')

Dilmong, pl. Dilmonga, (Fur)

From the Fur, "metal bracelet"; a subordinate official to a shartai and probably in origin a military leader. Later it was loosely used of a holder of an hākūra or a person responsible for certain local rituals.

Arabicised to Dimliḡ,

pl. Damālīḡ



Diimang Aba (Fur)

Abbo Diima or Dīmaniāwī, "Father of Diima"; the hereditary title of the Fur ruler of dar diima or ro diima, the predominantly Fur area southwest of Jabal Marra, comprising twelve shartayāt. The title still survives.

Dingar (origin unknown)

A small wooden drum; the title of a subordinate administrative official in Dār Masālīt.

Dira<sup>c</sup> (Ar.)

A coat of chain mail.

Abbo Dugunga (Fur)

Fur title-holder; head of the dugunga Fur orri.

Dukhn (Ar.)

Pennisetum Typhoideum; Bulrush millet.

Dalāl, for zalāl (Ar.)

Umbrella, part of the royal regalia, carried over the sultan in public processions.

Abbo Forō (Fur)

Eling wakīl (Fur and Ar.)

Village head in Fur areas.

Fakī, anomalous pl. fuqarā<sup>h</sup> (classical Ar. fuqarā')

Sudanese Arabic form of faqih, a jurist; a general term for Muslim holy men.

Fāshir (origin unknown)

The area in front of the sultan's camp or palace, where he gave public audience, and then by extension it came to mean the sultan's court. Fāshir was used in Bornu, Baqirmi, Wadai (where it also meant the sultan's council), Dār Fūr and the Sinnār Sultanate.

Girgit (Fur)

"The Girgit of the"



Firsha (Ar.)

"Carpet", part of the royal regalia.

Habōbāt (Ar.)

A subordinate chief among the Tāna, Milēri, Qimr and some Masālīt groups.

Fitṛ (Ar.)

Alms or poll-tax given at the end of Ramadān.

Folgoni (Fur) Arabicised  
pl. Falajna

Retainers attached to the sultan's court; often sent on official missions. There were three court officials known as mulūk al-falajna.

Forang Aba (Fur)

Fur title-holder, head of the Fur foranga and buldanga orri. He was responsible for certain rituals and for arranging the marriages of the mavram.

Abbo Forē (Fur)

or kamni (origin unknown). Fur title-holder, but the significance of the title is not clear. Apparently a shadow king, it is said he was killed if the sultan died in battle. He was also steward of the sultan's estates (hākūrat al-Sultān, Ar. or ro kuuri) in Jabal Marra and Dār Fongoro.

Iiya Baasi (Fur)

Girgit (fur)

"Barbed spear"; a subordinate chief to the shartai in Jabal Sī, and similarly used in Dār Qimr. The girgit al-koriat, "the Girgit of the

Iiya Kuuri (Fur)



Habōbāt (Ar.)

Hākūra, pl. hawākīr (Ar.)

Abbo Irlinge (Fur)

Kalpa (Fur)

Khakir (Ar.)

Khakir (Ar.)

Khalifa (Ar.)

Abbo Jabbay (Fur)

Kharif (Ar.)

Khalifa (Ar.)

Iiya Baasi (Fur)

Abbo Kallaga (Fur)

Jallābī, pl. jallāba (Ar.)

Khādīya (Ar.)

Iiya Kuuri (Fur)

grooms", was one of the officials in charge of the sultan's horses.

See abonga.

Rō, pl. rota (Fur). Estates, either consisting of villages or nomad tribal sections, which were granted by sultans to title-holders, members of the royal lineage or fakīs. They were exempt from most taxes, save the normal Islamic ones, and were usually but not necessarily hereditary.

Customarily a sultan would confirm a grant given by one of his predecessors. Most Arabic documents so far discovered in Dār Fūr are letters pertaining to such grants.

iiva, "mother of one", baasi, "royal"? One of the sultan's full sisters, who was responsible for the discipline of the mayram. The position could be very powerful; the iiva baasi Zamzam was said to have virtually ruled Dār Fūr when Sultan Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn went blind.

iiva, "mother of one", kuuri "obeisance"; the premier wife of the sultan, who was responsible for the



Abbo Iringa (Fur)

Jundī (Fur)

Juredungoo, pl. Juredungoo

Abbo Irlingo (Fur)

Keira (Fur)

Khabīr (Ar.)

Khabīr (Ar.)

Khalīf (Ar.)

Abbo Jabbay (Fur)

Kharīf (Ar.)

Kiso, pl. Kisoonga (Fur)

Abbo Konyunga (Fur)

Khalīf (Ar.)

Abbo Kotingo (Fur)

Jallābī, pl. jallāba (Ar.)

Korīf (Fur)

Jihādīya (Ar.)

Koy (Fur)

preparation of his food; it was a very influential position.

Iri, "up", (Fur); title-holder, who ruled certain parts of northern Dār Fūr, in particular the Kāja people.

Title-holder, whose ceremonial function was to place the turban on the sultan during the accession rituals and who was responsible for the administration of the Tunjur, Mīma and some foreign communities.


Abu'l Jabbāyīn (Ar.); title-holder, responsible for the collection of the grain tax and its storage in granaries. In time of war, he was leader of the heavy cavalry and of the advance guard of the army. He had a series of officials throughout the state subordinate to him, the jabbāyīn (Ar.) or jubanga (Fur).

A term used in the Sudanic region for merchants, usually from the Nilotic Sudan, who were particularly associated with the slave trade. The term was originally used of the conscript troops of Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Alī Pasha in Egypt; in Dār Fūr it referred to the slave troops, armed



Kokur (Original name)	with muskets or rifles, recruited by Sultan Muhammad al-Husayn.
Jindī (classical Ar. jundī) (Fur)	A subordinate chief among the Beigo tribe.
Juredungoo, pl. Jurenga (Fur)	Fur youths who have been circumcised, but not yet married; warriors.
Keira (Fur)	The name of the Fur royal family.
Khabīr (Ar.)	A caravan leader or guide, particularly associated with the <u>darb al-arbaʿīn</u> .
Kursī (Ar.)	"Successor"; a title given to a son of the reigning sultan nominating him as successor. In fact, no <u>khalīfa</u> appears ever to have succeeded except Muhammad Dawra.
Kharīf (Ar.)	Rainy season.
Kiiso, pl. kiisonga (Fur)	"Drum", the Fur term for <u>shartai</u> .
Abbo Konyunga (Fur)	Head of the <u>konyunga</u> division of the Fur.
Malik al-ghanna	a leading title-holder; head of the <u>kotingo</u> division of the sultan's guards, but more important under the Arabic title, <u>wazīr</u> , as a senior administrative official.
Abbo Kotingo (Fur)	Grooms responsible for the sultan's horses. <u>Malik al-koriat</u> ; a title-holder, head of the <u>koriat</u> .
Koriat (Fur)	Slave.
Key (Fur)	



- Kukur (Origin unknown) a stool, made of wood or ivory, which formed part of the Sultanic ritual regalia.
- Kunjar (Fur) A stick shaped thus ; one of the Sultanic ritual objects.
- Abbo Kunjara (Fur) Fur title-holder; head of the Kunjara Fur, of whom the Keira family was part.
- Kursī (Ar.) "Chair"; a subordinate official to a shartai. The term was also used for the manager or steward of an hākūra on behalf of the owner of an estate. The term, wakīl, "deputy", (Ar.) was sometimes used with the latter meaning.
- Libis (Classical Ar., libis) (Ar.) A quilted coat worn under chain mail.
- Malik al-ghazwa (Ar.) "King of the Raid"; title given to a notable commissioned by the sultan to raid for slaves in southern Dār Fūr. The title may perhaps be compared with the mugaddam al-salatīya in the Sinnār sultanate.
- Malik al-jallāba (Ar.) "King of the Merchants"; title of the head of the foreign merchant community in the sultanate.



Malik al-nuhās (Ar.)

"King of the Copper kettle drum"; Fur title held by the konyunga clan.

Hoge (Fur)

The title may be the Arabic equivalent of the Fur title, abbo soming dogala.

Al-mansūra (Ar.)

"The victorious"; the title of the male drum. The ten drums formed perhaps the most important part of

Ornang (Fur)

the sultanic regalia, son by the

Maqdūm, pl. maqādīm (Ar.)

A commissioner appointed to represent the sultan in one of the provinces or on a particular mission. The title was not usually hereditary, although it became so in the family of the abbo iringa Hasan in northern Dār Fūr.

Orri (Fur)

Marīsa (Ar.)

A beer made either from dukhn or dhurra, which is widely drunk in Dār Fūr.

Mayram, Arabicised pl.

A daughter or sister of a reigning or previous sultan. The husband of a mayram had few if any rights over his wife.

Mayārim (Kanuri?)

Qādī (Ar.)

Rabad (Ar.)

Miirong sagal (Fur)

Malik al-hadādīd, "King of the Blacksmiths"; was responsible for providing the sultan with a supply of hoes and iron weapons. The

Rō, pl. rōta (Fur)



- Mo kauriga (Fur) blacksmiths were and are a despised caste in Dār Fūr, as in many other parts of the Sudanic region.
- Moge (Fur) "Professional adulator"; it was the responsibility of the malik al-moge to announce the death of a sultan and the accession of his successor. He also had certain ritual functions. In Fur areas a man chosen by the elders of a locality to lead the iurenga in war.
- Ornang (Fur)
- Sambal (Fur)
- Shartai, Arabised pl.
- Orrengdulung (Fur) Orre, "door", dulung, "posts". A senior title-holder; maiordomo of the fāshir and ruler of Dār Bīrged. Every shartai also had his orrengdulung.
- Orri (Fur) Among the Jabal Marra Fur, a landowning group. Among the Fur generally the term appears to denote the named groups into which they were divided, although the nature of these groups is far from clear.
- Abbo Shaykh Daali (Fur and Arabic)
- Qādī (Ar.) Kadīnga (Fur); a judge in Muslim law.
- Rahad (Ar.) A shallow depression in which rainwater collects.
- Rō, pl. rōta (Fur) "Well"; used also for "farm" and hākūra.



- Ro kuuring (Fur) "Well of the Sultan", hākurat "house"; al-Sultān: the area of Jabal Marra and Dār Fongoro, administered by the abbo fore, which was exclusively the possession of the sultan and which supplied his court with food.
- Saar (Fur) ṣaḥr (Ar.) "Sword"; the malik saaringa, "King of the Swordsmen" was a Fur military title.
- Sambal (Fur) ṣambal (Ar.) "Throwing knife". (Fur); Fur title, Probably from the Daju chorti, "drum"; in Fur areas, kiiso, pl. kiisonga. An administrative title, the importance of which varied greatly within the sultanate; it was less important among the Fur, than in eastern Dār Fūr. The title was usually but not necessarily hereditary.
- Shartai, Arabicised pl. sharātī
- Umag Aho (Fur)
- Abbo Shaykh Daali (Fur) and Arabic) The senior court slave title, which could only be held by a eunuch. The importance of the title declined after the death of Muhammad Kurra. The title also carried with it the governorship of extensive lands east and south of al-Fāshir known as ro daali (Fur) or dār dālī (Ar.) meaning, there appeared to have been one malik, who had the Fur title of abbo kotina.



Abbo Soming Dogala (Fur) "Lord of the children of the house"; Fur title hereditary within the konvunga clan; was responsible for only these persons and the drums (as malik al-ruhās) and for the administration of the domestics of the sultan's court.

Takkiya, pl. takākī (Ar.)

Long narrow stripe of cotton widely used as a medium of exchange in Dār Fūr.

Takanāwī, Arabicised from

Togon, "wizard" (Fur); Fur title, originally of the chamberlain to the sultan, and later of the governor of northern Dār Fūr. The importance of the title declined with the rise of the maqdūms of northern Dār Fūr. Dār al-takanāwī was sometimes known as dār al-rīh.

Umang Aba (Fur)

Or abbo umma or uminiāwī; Fur title, governor of the area south-east of Jabal Marra. With the rise of the maqdūm title, it declined in importance.

Wazīr, pl. wuzarā' (Ar.)

The significance of this title is not clear; it appears to have been a court title awarded to various confidants of the sultan. Apart from this meaning, there appears to have been one wazīr, who had the Fur title of abbo kotingo.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.

In this bibliography I have included only those sources that are referred to directly in the thesis.

ARCHIVES.a. Khartoum.1. The Sudan Government Archives (S.G.A.).

The Sudan Government Archives

contain very little material on the Keira Sultanate before the Mahdia, although there is abundant material on 'Alī Dīnār's relations with the Condominium Government.

11. The Sudan Library, University of Khartoum (U.K. Library).

Apart from possessing a very fine collection of printed works on the Sudan, the University of Khartoum also has several valuable typescripts.

H.A. MacMichael, Notes on the Tribes of Darfur, Khartoum 1915.

" " " , Report on Dar Masalit, Khartoum 1919.

P.J. Sandison , Fur/English, English/Fur Vocabulary, Khartoum, no date.

(Bence Pembroke) Geographical and Tribal Distribution in Darfur.

This was probably, on internal evidence, written in 1922 by Bence Pembroke and includes a very valuable account of the administrative system of the



sultanate, both under <sup>c</sup>Alī Dīnār and the earlier sultans.

iii. The Faculty of Law Archives. University of Khartoum  
to (Law Archives).

The Faculty of Law Archives consist of a mass of uncatalogued legal reports. Many of the cases reported from Dār Fūr contain information on inter-tribal disputes, boundaries and chieftancy cases.

b. Dār Fūr.

1. Al-Fāshir Mudīrīya (Mudīrīya).

The main body of closed files in total about 600 files and may be divided into two categories;

(1) DĀR FŪR PROVINCE. These number some 550 files and deal with general province affairs i.e.

administration, personnel, transport and roads, water supplies etc. They throw very considerable light on the development of Native Administration and Local Government in Dār Fūr, but are only of marginal interest for the pre-Condominium history of Dār Fūr. The Mudīrīya possesses a handwritten list of these files.

(2) AL-FĀSHIR DISTRICT. These are about fifty in number, but are uncatalogued and are in extremely poor condition. They deal with small local units and contain much valuable information on the history and administration of the al-Fāshir region under <sup>c</sup>Alī Dīnār and before.



## ARABIC PRINTED BOOKS.

A list of open files concerned with the present day administration of Dār Fūr Province is kept in the Mudiriya. Of these files, which I was able to read through the courtesy of the Governor, <sup>C</sup>Uthmān Muhammad Husayn, some forty are concerned with tribal affairs, each tribe having a separate file. These tribal files, particularly those relating to the Baqqāra tribes, contain much historical and ethnographic data.

11. Al-Fāshir Majlis (Majlis).

There are at the Majlis some ten files of the al-Fāshir District series, which have not yet been moved to the Mudiriya.

c. London.1. Dr. A.J. Arkell's Papers. Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

A catalogue of the papers of Dr. A.J. Arkell has been prepared by Professor P.M. Holt. These papers include Arabic documents, genealogies and notes on tribes and tribal history. Particularly valuable are the records of conversations with old men - old in the 1930s - about the traditional administration of the sultanate. Although Dr. Arkell made use of much of the material he collected in his numerous articles, much of it, particularly that concerned with the later sultanate, remains unpublished.



ARABIC PRINTED BOOKS.

- <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī      ʿAjā'ib al-athār fi'l-Tarā'īm  
the books and articles by      wa'l-akhbār. Cairo n.d. (1879)  
written in the nineteenth century      4 vols.
- Ādam al-Zayn      Al-Turāth al-Shaʿbī li-qabīlat  
G. d'Alban      al-Musabbaʿāt. Khartoum 1970.
- <sup>c</sup>Alī <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh Abū Sinn      Mudhakira Ta'rīkhīya ʿan Mudīriya  
Dār Fur. Khartoum 1968.
- Kātib al-Shūna      Makhtūṭat Kātib al-Shūna. Ed.  
H. Barth      Al-Shāṭir Busaylī ʿAbd al-Jalīl.  
Cairo 1963.
- Muhammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm      Al-Funī wa'l-ard. Watha'iq tamlīk.  
Khartoum 1967.
- Muhammad b. Dayfallāh      Kitāb al-Tabagāt fi Khūsūs al-awliyā'  
W.G. Browne      wa'l-Salīhīn wa'l-ʿulamā' wa'l-  
Lecture      shuʿarā' fi'l-Sūdān. Ed. Ibrāhīm  
Sidayq. Cairo 1348/1930.
- Muhammad b. ʿUmar al-Tūnisī      Tashhīdh al-adhhān bi-sīrat bilād  
J. Bruce      al-ʿArab wa'l-Sūdān. Ed. Mustafā  
A. Brun-Rollet      Muhammad Musʿad, Khalīl Muhammad  
J.L. Burckhardt      ʿAsākir and Muhammad Mustafā Ziyāda.  
E. de Cadalvén      Cairo 1965.
- Naʿūm Shuqayr      Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān al-qadīm wa'l-hadīth  
J. de Breuvery      wa-lughrafiyatuhu. Cairo no date  
A. Carradori      (1903) 3 vols. in 1, reprinted Beirut  
1967. In this thesis I have used  
the Beirut reprint which is differently  
paginated from the original version.



THE TRAVELLERS.

dal 1630 fino al 1638 in (ed.) G.

In this section I have listed all the books and articles by travellers or geographical writers written in the nineteenth century referred to in the thesis.

G. d'Albano

Historia della Missione Francescana in Alto-Egitto-Fungi-Etiopia, 1686-1720. Ed. G. Giamberardini. Cairo 1961.

H. Barth

"Account of two expeditions in central Africa by the Furany's", Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XXIII, 1853, 120-2.

C. Cuny

V. Denon

Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa. 5 vols. London 1857.  
Travels in Egypt, Syria and Africa. London 1799; second edition, London 1806.

P.H.S. d'Escayrac de  
W.G. Browne  
Lecture

J. Bruce

Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile. 5 vols. London 1804.

Le Conte Ravey  
A. Brun-Rollet

Le Nil Blanc et la Soudan. Paris 1855.

J.L. Burckhardt

Travels in Nubia. London 1819.

E. de Cadalvène and

L'Égypte et la Turquie. 2 vols.

R.W. Felkin  
J. de Breuvéry

Paris 1836.

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In the following article, which is to appear in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, I am responsible for the following pages, 316-332, 340-343 and 347-353.

R.S.O'Fahey

Sources.

(1) We are grateful to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for making available the article in draft and making several valuable suggestions.



Final draft.

HĀSHIM AND THE MUSABBA'ĀT: KORDOFAN IN  
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Rex S. O'Fahey and Jay L. Spaulding

The Musabba'āt played an important part in the history of the Kordofan/Dār Fūr region in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This article attempts to define who they were and to examine the careers of three generations of Musabba'āt sultans, in particular that of the grandson, their most famous sultan, Hāshim b. 'Isāwī al-Musaba'āwī. (1) <sup>6</sup>

Sources.

The sources for this study of the Musabba'āt are diverse and uneven in value; they may be divided into two categories, written Arabic sources, originating within the Sudan, and oral historical traditions. Of the former, the most important are the collection of biographies of Muslim holy men - Wad Dayfallāh, Kitāb al-tabaqāt fī khusūs al-awliyā' wa'l-salihīn

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(1) We are grateful to Professor P.M. Holt of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for having read the article in draft and making several valuable suggestions.



## 2.

wa'l-'ulamā' wa'l-sha'arā' fi'l-Sūdān, ed. Ibrāhīm Sidayq, Cairo 1348/1930; the Funj Chronicle - Makhtūtat Kātib al-Shūna, ed. al-Shātir Busaylī 'Aad al-Jalīl, (Cairo 1963) and the collection of land charters from the Funj Sultanate of Sinnār - Al-Funj wa'l-ard, ed. Muhammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Khartoum 1967.

Oral tradition on the Musabba'āt comes in part from the two works of Sir Harold MacMichael; H.A. MacMichael, The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan, Cambridge 1912, and A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, 2 vols., Cambridge 1922. MacMichael's information on the Musabba'āt is derived mainly from Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, the last nominal Musabba'āt sultan in Kordofan and at one time a Mahdist amīr. We have also made use of information from interviews with 'Awad Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, the son of MacMichael's informant, (O'Fahey, Khartoum North, August 1969) and Ādam al-Zayn Muhammad, a Musabba'awī from Dār Fūr (Khartoum, February 1970) and other oral tradition sources collected in Dār Fūr, (O'Fahey, May to July 1969) and the northern Sudan, (Spaulding, January to February 1970)

But perhaps the most important account of the Musabba'āt in Kordofan, although whether it is oral or written in origin is difficult to determine, is that to be found



## 3.

in E. de Cadalvène and J. de Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, Paris 1836, ii, 197-214. Cadalvène and Breuvéry say that their account of Kordofan is based upon information given them by the French Orientalist, Mathieu-Auguste Koenig, who is known to have visited Kordofan and Sinnār during 1824 and 1825. (2) Koenig, while he was in Kordofan seems to have either seen a manuscript history of the province or, and this seems the less likely, collected from some unnamed informant or informants, a remarkably full and accurate account of the province, accurate especially in its chronology. It is this account of Koenig, from Cadalvène and Breuvéry, which is our main source for the article.

The Musabba'āt and the precursors of Hashim: Janqal b. Pahr and 'Isawī b. Janqal.

The Musabba'āt today are an Arabic-speaking tribe, who are to be found in widely scattered communities

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(2) See R.L.Hill, A biographical dictionary of the Sudan, 2nd. edition, London 1967, 93 and 206 for brief notices on ~~all~~ three. Koenig seems never to have written an account of his travels in the Sudan, but letters from him were published in the Bulletin de la société de géographie de Paris, 1824, 335 and 81; 1825, 152, 158 and 370; 1826, 402 and 169. We are grateful to Mr. R.L.Hill for these references.

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throughout the Sudan. (3) This article is not concerned with the wider history of the Musabba'āt in the Sudan, but only with the activities of the group, called Musabba'āt, in Kordofan during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To be more precise, we are concerned only with the history of the ruling Musabba'āt clan or clans and their adherents.

The use of "tribal" names as if they had a meaning constant through time and common to all those who employed the terms has been a source of ambiguity in the discussion of Sudanese history. In our chosen period of the history of Kordofan, the name "Musabba'āt" had three distinguishable meanings. First, the term referred to an agnatically related group, originating in Dār Fūr and linked to the Keira royal dynasty there. A second group included in the term were the supporters of the first, who probably came to relate themselves putatively to the ruling clan. Finally, the political supporters

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(3) There are Musabba'āt villages or communities east and north of al-Fāshir and near Nyala, in Dār Fūr; at al-Nahūd, Abū Zabad, al-Ubayyid, Bāra, al-Rahad and Dilling in Kordofan; several villages near Sinnār and Sinja and also in the al-Qadārif/Kasala region, ( 'Awad Ḥamid Jabr al-Dār, interview Khartoum North, 30.8.1969 ). Several of the Musabba'āt communities in Dār Fūr are Fur-speaking, ( Ādam al-Zayn Muḥammad, interview Khartoum 12.2.1970 ).

are Fur-speaking, ( Ādam al-Zayn Muḥammad, interview Khartoum



of the first two groups, whatever their self-defined identity, were also known as Musabba'āt, particularly to distant or poorly-informed observers. (4)

It is difficult to determine the exact origins of the original Musabba'āt group or indeed to say much about their early history. What does seem certain is that the ruling clan ( Arabic, Khashm al-Bayt ), who were called Basna and from whom came the sultans, were related to the Keira dynasty, who established a powerful sultanate in central and western Dār Fūr some time in the seventeenth century. The name, Basna, may be a clue, in that it is perhaps related to the Fur word, Baasi, which appears in origin to have meant a male member of the Keira clan, and which later became a title given to the sons and grandsons of previous or living sultans, who were, ipso facto, eligible to compete for the sultanate. (5)

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(4) James Bruce, the Scottish traveller, thus seems to have confused the Musabba'āt with the Fur; the error may lie with his informants in the southern Gezira. See A. Murray, Life and Writings of James Bruce, (Edinburgh 1808), 425. It is noteworthy, however, that in some of the Funj documents the title, Sultān Fūr al-Musabba'āt, appears, which suggests that the people of Sinnār were aware of the origin of the Musabba'āt sultans. See Abū Salīm, al-Funj wa'l-ard, 60, 63 and 66. /g /e

(5) The word, Baasi, may appear elsewhere; the royal clan of the Berti, a tribe living in north-eastern Dār Fūr, is called Basanga; see L. Holy, "Social consequences of dia among the Berti", Africa, XXXVII/4, 1967, 466-79. There are also among the Fur themselves several groups called Baasinga.



It is probable that during the earliest phases of the expansion of the Keira sultanate in western Dār Fūr, which are associated with the sultans Daali, Ahmad Kuurruu and Sulaymān Solongdungo, one or more groups from the Keira clan were pushed out into the eastern Dār Fūr region; probably they were losing groups in the various succession struggles of the period. (6) The movement of the Musabba'āt from Dār Fūr was probably in no way a mass tribal migration, but was rather the movement of small groups of the Keira clan and their adherents, who could no longer maintain themselves within the sultanate, into the Dār Fūr/Kordofan border lands. In this area, the Musabba'āt gathered around them

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(6) There are several variants of the genealogical link between the Basna and the Keira; see Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 199; Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh al-adhhān bi-sīrat bilād al-'Arab wa'l-Sūdān, ed. Mustafā Muhammad Hus'ad, Khalīl Muhammad 'Asākir and Muhammad Mustafā Ziyāda, (Cairo 1965), 83, and in the French translation by Dr. Perron, Voyage au Darfour, (Paris 1845), 67; Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Tūnisī (Mohammed el-Tounsy) Voyage au Ouaday, (Paris 1851), 73; G. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, 3 vols., (I & II, Berlin 1879 & 1881, III, Leipzig 1889), iii, 363-4 and MacMichael, Kordofan, 55-6 and History, ii, 154-5. See table I for the genealogy of the Musabba'āt sultans recorded by MacMichael from Hāmid Jabr al-Dār.



further supporters and began to play a part in the politics of the region. (7)

The Musabba'āt sultans, because of their reputed or authentic genealogical link with the Keira and because of the reputed link of the two clans, Keira and Basna, with the previous ruling group in Dār Fūr, the Tunjur, had "imperial" pretensions. Before we look at briefly the careers of the two earlier sultans, Janqal b. Bahr and 'Isawī b. Janqal, and in more detail, that of Hāshim b. 'Isawī, we can perhaps consider what we may term the Musabba'āt political strategy. The Musabba'āt sultans appear to have had two strategies or

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(7) It is very unlikely that the Keira exercised any control east of Jabal Marra before the reign of 'Umar Lel (1159/1746-7 - 1167/1753-4), and it probable that a system of administration was not established east of the mountains until well into the reign of Muhammad Tayrāb (1176/1762-3 - 1200/1785-6). Similarly it is unlikely that the Sinnār sultanate's sphere of influence in Kordofan, as exercised through their protégés, the Ghudiyāt, extended west of al-Ubayyid, since its main interest was in the slaying region of the Nuba mountains. This left an enormous area for the Musabba'āt to operate within. /v



policies, which they operated both simultaneously and consecutively; the first was simply to re-establish themselves in Dār Fūr; in other words, to supplant the Keira dynasty. This strategy was further refined on at least one occasion to supporting one Keira faction against another in Dār Fūr.

The second strategy was to try and create a Musabba'āt empire in Kordofan; this ambition led the Musabba'āt sultans, particularly Ḥashim b. 'Isāwī, into a close involvement with the politics of the Sinnār sultanate and of the riverain states of the northern Sudan.

The Musabba'āt sultans failed in both their strategies and failed on more than one occasion. Indeed what is perhaps most remarkable was the persistence with which the three generations of sultans used their limited resources and political skill to try and fulfil their ambitions. Why they failed is perhaps the most interesting question and in attempting to answer it, we may perhaps derive some clues to the success of the Keira in Dār Fūr and the Funj on the Nile, and to the conditions needed for success in state formation in the eastern Sudanic region.

The first Musabba'āt sultan about whose career we know a little is Janqal b. Bahr and we can see in his career the unfolding of the twin strategies, c



described above, and their failure. It appears that Janqal made an attempt to oust the Keira sultan, Mūsā b. Sulaymān (1113/1701-2 - 1128/1715-6), but was defeated in two battles and driven out of Dār Fūr. (8) Janqal moved back into the Kordofan/ Dār Fūr border lands, where he probably continued to recruit support from the tribes of the region. (9)

After some years, Janqal advanced on central Kordofan, meeting and killing on the way, the fakī, Mukhtār b. Muhammad Jawdatallāh. (10) After his encounter with

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(8) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 366 and MacMichael, Kordofan, 62. Nachtigal records the tradition that Janqal was defeated by Mūsā in two battles fought at Tine and Kolge, both west of Jabal Marra, which appears to confirm that the Keira had little or no control east of the mountains at this time.

(9) 'Awad Ḥamid Jabr al-Dār, interview Khartoum North, 30.8.1969, giving the tradition that Janqal gave the niḥās i.e. the copper kettle drums that were a symbol of authority, to many tribal leaders in Kordofan; a clear sign of "imperial" pretensions.

(10) Wad Dayfallāh, Kitāb al-tabaqāt, 164, where Janqal is said to have advanced from al-Kāb. Sidayq locates al-Kāb in western Dār Fūr. More probably al-Kāb was a general name referring to the series of hills just east of the present Dār Fūr/Kordofan provincial boundary. Thus in an 'Abdallābī waqfiya, dated 1149/1736 there is reference to a region delimited by al-Kāb in the west, Sawākīn in the east, Ethiopia in the south and Aswān in the north; see al-Khartūm, December 1967, 58. (we are grateful to Professor Holt for this reference). It is said that one of these hills, Jabal Bishāra Tayyib, was known originally as Kāb Balūl; see MacMichael, Kordofan, 74-5 and 98, where Kāb is translated as "fort". See also Cadalvone and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 202. l



Mukhtār, Janqal with his allies, the Bidayriya, advanced on al-Ubayyid and attacked Dakīn al-Funjāwī, who appears to have been, in some style, a governor for the Sinnār sultanate in the central Kordofan region. Janqal was defeated and killed, his head being sent to the Funj Wakk in Sinnār. (11)

Janqal left many sons, at least two of whom became prominent in Sudanese history. (12) One group of Musabba'āt under Khamīs b. Janqal seemed to have moved to Dār Fūr, where they probably became involved in the series of wars between the Keira sultanate and Wadai, the neighbouring state to the west. (13) Khamīs and his supporters seem to have been on

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(11) Wad Dayfallāh, Kitāb al-tabaqāt, 164 and Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 202; the latter source dates Janqal's death to 1603, but this seems far too early. Mukhtār's father, Muhammad Jawdatallāh, was the pupil of Muhammad al-Qaddāl; during the year of famine, Umm Lahm, 1095/1683-4, al-Qaddāl sought refuge with his pupil in Kordofan, but was brought back to Umm Talha by the Funj ruler, Unsa b. Nāsir (1092/1681-2 - 1103/1691-2), who was unwilling for so distinguished a holy man to live under the rule of Malik Kunjāra, which probably refers to Janqal; see Wad Dayfallāh, Kitāb al-tabaqāt, 23 and 45.

(12) Wad Dayfallāh, Kitāb al-tabaqāt, 164, says Janqal left about fifty sons, nearly all of whom, except 'Isāwī, died fighting one another.

(13) James Bruce, Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile, 5 vols., (London 1790), ii, 637; Bruce's account of Khamīs, whom he calls a "Prince of Dar Fowr", is very muddled and the above is only a possible interpretation.



the losing side in some struggle in Dār Fūr and as a result moved or fled to the Sinnār sultanate to act as mercenary troops to the Funj Makk of the time, Bādī Abū Shulūkh, (1136/1724 - 1175/1762). (14) Khamīs and his Musabba'āt cavalry rendered valuable service to Sinnār during the war with the Negus Iyasu II; they were largely responsible for the defeat of the Ethiopians at the battle of 'Ajīb, near the River Dinder in Safar 1157/ March-April 1744. (15).

Meanwhile in the Dār Fūr/Kordofan border-lands, Janqal had been succeeded as sultan of the Musabba'āt there by his son, 'Isāwī, who was to prove as active as his father and later his son in pursuing the traditional Musabba'āt policy. What is interesting in 'Isāwī's case is that he seems to have joined forces with a Keira faction to take over central Kordofan from Sinnār in order to use it as a base to intervene

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(14) See Bruce, Travels, ii, 637. If Khamīs left Dār Fūr as a result of the succession dispute following the death of sultan Ahmad Bukr in 1141/1728-9, there may be confirmation of this date in Abū Salīm, al-Funj wa'l-ard, 138, where Khamīs, described as Sultān Fūr, appears as a witness on a document dated Rajab 1141/February-March 1729. Later members of Khamīs's family in Sinnār carried the title, Sultān Fūr al-Musabba'āt; see the discussion in Abū Salīm, al-Funj wa'l-ard, 44-5. /h

(15) See Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūtat Kātib al-Shūna, 21; MacMichael, History, ii, 365 and for the Ethiopian version, see I. Guifū (ed.), Annales Regum Iyasu II et Iyo'as, (Paris 1910), 114-5.



in Dār Fūr on behalf of the faction.

Some of the Keira, notably Pelpelle b. Ahmad Bukr and Sulaymān al-Abyad b. Ahmad Bukr, left Dār Fūr and sought refuge with 'Isāwī soon after the accession of 'Umar Lol b. Muhammad Dawra (1159/1746-7 - 1167/1753-4). (16) It seems that 'Isāwī and the Awlād Ahmad Bukr joined forces to invade central Kordofan, which was at that time held by the Ghudiyāt for the Sinnār sultanate under an 'Abdallābī governor, 'Abdallāh Rās al-Tayr. At the battle of Qihayf, 'Abdallāh Rās al-Tayr and the Ghudiyāt leader were defeated and killed. (17)

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(16) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 202 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 370. Pelpelle and his brother belonged to the Awlād Ahmad Bukr, the numerous sons of the great sultan Ahmad Bukr; the Awlād Ahmad Bukr played an active part as a faction or series of factions in mid- and late eighteenth century Dār Fūr. The situation at the time of 'Umar Lol's accession in Dār Fūr was very confused, but possibly the fact of 'Umar succeeding his father, Muhammad Dawra, was in some sense an usurpation, therefore conversely the Awlād Ahmad Bukr might be regarded as the "legitimist" faction among the Keira. /k

(17) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 203, who date the battle to 1751. Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 24, mentions neither 'Isāwī nor an 'Abdallābī governor, but says that the Musabba'āt invaded central Kordofan and there were two battles, in which the Funj under the wazīr Wad Tūma and accompanied by the 'Abdallābī 'Abdallāh, were defeated, although they were finally rallied by Muhammad Abū Likaylik. /A For the 'Abdallābī version, see A.E. Penn, "Traditional stories of the 'Abdullab tribe", Sudan Notes and Records, XVII, 1934, 6970 /f where the invasion is ascribed to a Fur sultan.



The victors then settled near al-Ubayyid. It seems 'Isāwī had received the support of the Awlād Ahmad Bukr in exchange for his help in ousting sultan 'Umar Lel from his throne. Thus as a casus belli, 'Isāwī is said to have written to 'Umar demanding since the sultan was about to bestow his father's wives and concubines on the leading notables in Dār Fūr, that he be given 'Umar's own mother. (18) The outraged Keira sultan promptly invaded Kordofan, forcing 'Isāwī to flee towards Sinnār, but giving Sulaymān al-Abyad the opportunity to enter Dār Fūr, only to be defeated by sultan 'Umar who quickly returned from Kordofan. (19)

'Isāwī tried to intervene in /i  
Dār Fūr once more, following the death in battle in Wadai in 1167/1753-4 of 'Umar Lel. Out of the usual confused interregnum, there emerged a new strong sultan from among the Awlād Ahmad/ Bukr, Abu'l-Qāsim (1167/1753-4 - 1176/1761-2) and it was he who crushed 'Isāwī and his supporters. After his defeat 'Isāwī fled to Dār Beigo and from there with the aid of the Beigo sultan

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(18) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 370-1; there is reference to a similar practice by the later Keira sultan, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rashīd (1200/1785-6 - 1215/1800-1); al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 101 and Darfour, 89. 'Isāwī's demand was probably morally outrageous, but it may also have had political implications.

(19) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 204-5 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 371..Their versions vary slightly.



he was able to return to Kordofan. (20)

The defeat of 'Isāwī by Abu'l-Qāsim / f marks the beginning of nearly a twenty year hiatus, between 1753 and about 1770, in our knowledge of the Musabba'āt. It was perhaps during this period that some Musabba'āt made their peace with the Keira and returned to Dār Fūr; thus Muhammadayn b. 'Isāwī and a group of supporters returned to Dār Fūr and were given estates ( sing. hakūra ) at Jugujugu in the al-Fāshir region by the successor of Abu'l-Qāsim, Muhammad Tayrāb b. Ahmad Bukr (1176/1762-3 - 1200/1785-6). (21).

#### The Career of Hashim b. 'Isāwī.

It is said that after 'Isāwī's

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(20) Cadavène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 207, is the only source for this episode. They also say that 'Isāwī was murdered by his uncle, Mustafā, on his return to Kordofan. Another tradition asserts that he died naturally in the Kāja/Katūl region; 'Awad Ḥamid Jabr al-Dār, interview Khartoum North / 30.8.1969.

(21) Adam al-Zayn Muhammad, interview Khartoum 12.2.1970 and his collection of Jugujugu Musabba'āt tradition, al-Tirāth al-Sha'bī li-qabila al-Musabba'āt, mimeograph, Khartoum 1970. The exact date of Muhammadayn's return to Dār Fūr is not clear, but it was probably before Tayrāb's invasion of Kordofan in 1200/1785-5.



death, the elders of the Mashgham clan ( khashm al-bayt ), who were by custom responsible for choosing which of the previous sultan's sons should succeed, came together to choose the next Musabba'at sultan. Keeping 'Isāwī's death a secret, they sent for Hāshim, one of the dead sultan's many sons, who was at that time studying religious subjects in Dār Fūr. Hāshim hurriedly returned, was appointed sultan and the other sons of 'Isāwī imprisoned. Hāshim probably became sultan about 1770. (22)

From the very beginning of his career, Hāshim seems to have pursued the traditional Musabba'at policy of trying to create in central Kordofan a Musabba'at

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(22) 'Awad Ḥamid Jabr al-Dār, interview Khartoum North 30.8.1969, who also gave the tradition that Hāshim and Muhammad Tayrāb were cousins, since their mothers were sisters, daughters of the sultan of the Mīma, a small Arabised tribe, who live around Wadā'a, south east of al-Fāshir. A similar tradition was also recorded from Sabīl Ādam Ya'qūb, interview al-Fāshir 4.6.1970. These traditions appear to contradict Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 375, that Tayrāb's mother was the sister of the sultan of Zaghāwa Kobē, in north-western Dār Fūr. The traditions would make better sense, in that chronologically Tayrāb appears to belong to an older generation than Hāshim, if we assume that one of Tayrāb's wives was a daughter of the Mīma sultan, the sister of Hāshim's mother. Since we know Tayrāb campaigned in eastern Dār Fūr, a matrimonial alliance with the Mīma was very likely. The Keira link, whatever its exact nature, and a period of residence in Dār Fūr probably gave Hāshim an excellent understanding of the politics of the sultanate; see also n.52 p.28.



empire. Ironically in view of the tremendous activity of his career, he came close to achieving this early <sup>on</sup> ~~in his career~~ but was never afterwards so successful. Hāshim appears to have begun his remarkable life of war and intrigue by securing his home base in the Dār Fūr/Kordofan border lands.

His first move appears to have been against the Bidayriya of Jabal Bishāra Tayyib under their chief, Balūl. By an act of treachery, he drove the Bidayriya out and further strengthened his hold on the area by opening wells, cut /t through the rock, at Sodirī, north-west of Jabal Katūl. (23) Hāshim now had a secure and well-nigh inaccessible base in the area bounded by Jabal Kāja, Jabal Katūl, Jabal Bishāra Tayyib and Sodirī. It is probable also that Hāshim had an understanding with Tayrāb who was about this time consolidating Keira rule in eastern Dār Fūr among such tribes as the Berti, Birged and Beigo and who had his fāshir or capital at Rīl in south-eastern Dār Fūr. (24)

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(23) See MacMichael, Kordofan, 74-5 and 98; although no date is given for the episode, it would seem likely that Hāshim occupied Jabal Bishāra Tayyib early in his career. On the importance of the Kāja/Katūl region, see M. Born, Zentralkordofan, (Marburg 1966), 68 and 71. /d

(24) al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 76-7 and Darfour, 58-9 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 376.



In 1772 Hāshim moved east to attack the Ghudiyāt and he is said to have defeated them at a battle fought near Mulbas, some fifteen miles south of al-Ubayyid. (25) The forces of the Sinnār sultanate in Kordofan under Muḥammad Abū Likaylik were too weak to stop him and Hāshim was able to occupy al-Ubayyid without resistance. (26)

By his victory over the Ghudiyāt and occupation of central Kordofa, Hāshim acquired the opportunity, or perhaps the necessity of participating in the internal politics of the Sinnār sultanate. The provinces of the Sinnār sultanate were governed by a group of tightly interrelated aristocratic families, through their professional armies and civil service composed of slaves. In European writings these kings have often been identified by reference to the peoples they ruled; for example the 'Adlānāb and Hannikāb dynasties

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(25) 'Awad Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, interview Khartoum North, 30.8.1969.

(26) Murray, Bruce, 425, from Bruce's diary in Sinnār, dated 1.8.1772. There can be little doubt that Bruce was referring to Hāshim's invasion, although he mentions neither Hāshim nor the Musabba'āt. Bruce says that a Fur army advanced from Rīl, which suggests a large measure of Keira involvement in Hāshim's plans; this is confirmed by Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 209.



were often called "Shāiqīya" kings. (27) In reality these dynasties were kings over the Shāiqīya rather than of t<sup>ahm</sup>; the local freemen did not participate in political life on the state-wide level, and were excluded from marriage into the ruling group. The family ties of the kings were rather with the ruling houses of the other provinces, where a similar set of social and political conditions prevailed. The civil conflicts in eighteenth century Sinnār were by no means tribal wars, but rather dynastic disputes among interrelated royal lineages. (28)

In Hashim's time, the situation in the Nile valley invited intrigue. The abortive revolt against Makk Bādī III al-Ahmar in the early years of the eighteenth century had never been totally suppressed; the relatives of the defeated mānjil, the 'Abdallābī Muhammad al-Simayh, had based themselves on Old Dongola and the Shāiqīya country and

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(27) For example, see J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, (London 1819), 278 and F. Cailliaud, Voyage à Néroé, au Fleuve Blanc, 4 vols., (Paris 1826), ii, 23-4. After the fall of Sinnār, the royal families of the 'Adlānāb and Hannikāb came to adopt Shāiqīya ancestry; interviews, Muhammad 'Uthmān al-Hasan, shaykh 'Assūm, 30.12.1969 and al-Zayn Idrīs, 11.1.1970, of the 'Adlānāb, and al-Hājī Tāhā Hamad, 15.1.1970 and 'Uthmān Saḥīd, Shaykh al-Masāwī, 10.1.1970, of the Hannikāb. For convenience, this usage will be retained in the present discussion.

(28) Mr. Spaulding describes aspects of the social and dynastic history of the northern Funj kingdom in his doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1970-71.



refused to be dislodged. (29) They hoped to recover the mānjilikīya and repeatedly attacked Halīyat al-Mulūk, the 'Abdallāb capital just north of modern Khartoum, as well as raiding caravans. (30)

At the time of Hāshim's victory over the Ghudiyāt, the mānjil Muhammad b. 'Ajīb conceded to the traveller, James Bruce, that the Rubātāb country marked the effective northern limit of his power. (31) In the southern part of the sultanate a new rift opened between the family and supporters of Muhammad Abū Likaylik and the royal house of Sinnār, whose partizans may be termed the "legitimists". Both factions sought allies among the middle Nile provinces of the Ja'aliyīn in Shandī and al-Matamma, the ~~Wrayfāb~~ ~~Marifāb~~ of Berber and the 'Abdallāb.

The Sa'dāb state, which included the Ja'aliyīn of the west bank of the Nile, with its capital at al-Matamma, was an early eighteenth century offspring of Shandī. The origin of the state and its dynasty was clouded by murder

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(29) The descent of the 'Adlānāb kings from the family of Muhammad al-Simayh is described in a document preserved by the former nāzir of the Shāiqīya, al-Zayn Idrīs, which was copied by Spaulding at Merawī, 11.1.1970.

(30) Cailliaud, Voyage, ii, 195. The 'Adlānāb were later to receive the 'Abdallāb heartlands as a reward for collaborating with the invading Turco-Egyptian forces.

(31) Murray, Bruce, 432.



and its kings had every reason to support the Abū Likaylik faction against the "legitimists". (32) The Awlād Nimr of

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(32) The tradition recorded in Na'ūm Shuqayr, Ta'riḫ al-Sūdān al-qadīm wa'l-hadīth wa-jughrafiyatuhu, (Cairo n.d. (1903) and Beirut 1957, reprint, 3 vols. in 1), 425, deriving both the Sa'dāb and the Awlād Nimr from Idrīs III b. al-Fahl surely errs. When Bruce visited Shandī in 1772, Idrīs III was still young and probably under the regency of his mother; Bruce, Travels, iv, 526 and 529. In the same year Malik Sa'd was campaigning in Kordofan; see below 22. In 1772 the people of Shandī were terrified lest Abū Likaylik - and Malik Sa'd - return from Kordofan and devastate the province; Bruce, Travels, iv, 531. Obviously both the Sa'dāb and their conflict with Shandī were in existence before Idrīs III b. al-Fahl reached maturity.

The difficulty can be resolved by reference to Cailliaud's Ja'aliyīn king-list, a confusing document which fails to distinguish between the two dynasties; Cailliaud, Voyage, iii, 106-7. It suggests that conflict broke out among the sons of an earlier malik, 'Abd al-Salam, after his death at the hands of the Funj. His successor and son, al-Fahl, the only recorded malik of that name, who is said to have ruled for fifteen years, was assassinated by a second brother, Diyāb, so that a third, Idrīs II, could rule. After six years Idrīs II was killed by the Kawāhla on the Atbara and Diyāb succeeded, followed by four brothers. Meanwhile a son of al-Fahl Idrīs III, is known to have been ruling Shandī under the tutelage of his mother; Bruce, Travels, iv, 526 and 529. Therefore all the brothers of al-Fahl must have ruled elsewhere, presumably at al-Matamma. This would have been the origin of the Sa'dāb state. The next malik of al-Matamma was the Sa'd mentioned above; he was indeed the son of Idrīs, but not Idrīs III b. al-Fahl, but of Idrīs II b. 'Abd al-Salam, the first to benefit from the murder of the original al-Fahl.



Shandī, on the contrary, were consistently sympathetic to the party of the Makk of Sinnār. The Mirayfāb of Berber were probably the weakest of the middle Nile peoples and dissipated their energies in wars with Shandī, the Shāiqīya and the Rubātāb. That they were subject to the same partizan pressures as were the Ja'aliyīn became obvious when a succession dispute erupted during the last years of the Sinnār sultanate; one contender /r bore the name Abū Likaylik, while the other sought the assistance of Shandī. (33) Continuous succession disputes among the 'Abdallāb prevented the formation of permanent factions, but the group furnished allies to both parties. The Shāiqīya rulers were at odds with the dynasties of Berber, Shandī and the 'Abdallāb, but maintained good relations with the Sa'dāb perhaps because they wanted to use al-Matamma as an alternative to the hostile commercial entrepôt of Shandī across the river. (34) /c Such was the political situation within the Sinnār sultanate when Hāshim first appeared.

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(33) Muhammad Hijayba (Abū Likaylik faction) and Shaykh Rahma ("legitimist" faction), interviews Berber 30.1.1970.

(34) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 256-7 and interview Nūrī 3.1.1970, Muhammad Sulaymān Hammadtū, from the leading fakī family of Nūrī, who accurately described the eighteenth century wars of the Shāiqīya with Berber, Shandī and the 'Abdallāb but denied that hostilities had ever taken place with the Sa'dāb because, he said, there were close family ties between the two groups.



At the same time as Hāshim's victory over the Ghudiyāt, there seems to have been a parallel conflict in the northern Kordofan/Bayūda region, for a comment of James Bruce may be interpreted to mean that the Shāiqīya were involved in the affairs of Kordofan as early as 1772. In that year, Bruce learned in Halīfayāt al-Mulūk, presumably from an 'Abdallābī informant hostile to the Shāiqīya, that the Fazāra, the Banī Jarrār and the Kabābīsh had, "expelled the ancient Arabs of the Bahiouda, who pretend now only to be subjects of Kordofan". (35) The outcome of Hāshim's invasion of central Kordofan was not yet known and Bruce's informant was probably suggesting that the Shāiqīya, who with reasonable certainty may be identified as the "ancient Arabs", were in some way connected with the Ghudiyāt and the faction of Abū Likaylik. (36)

The military leaders in Sinnār did not passively accept Hāshim's conquest. In 1186/1772-3, Walik Sa'd moved to al-Ubayyid, presumably to oppose Hāshim. (37) He seems not to have returned from Kordofan until 1199/1784-5 and undoubtedly spent his stay raiding and plotting against the Musabba'at and their sultan. (38)

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(35) Bruce, Travels, iv, 515.

(36) Bruce, Travels, iv, 531.

(37) Dusaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 27.

(38) Dusaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 32.



The next eight years, 1772 to 1780, of Hāshim's career are obscure, although there is no reason to suppose he relaxed his control over central Kordofan. He probably did not control the land east of al-Ubayyid as far as the White Nile, since, as we have seen, Malik Sa'd stayed on somewhere in this region, holding it in the interest, probably of the Abū Likaylik faction of Sinnār.

But in 1194/1780, the wazīr from the Abū Likaylik family, Rajab b. Muḥammad, mounted a concerted attempt to retake central Kordofan and drive out Hāshim. The Funj Chronicler states that he, "went to Kordofan, as had his fathers before him, and busied himself with blockading the mountains". (39) Rajab's activities around the Nuba mountains become explicable if we assume he was slave-raiding to fill up his regiments before attacking Hāshim. The latter, however, refused to fight and retreated north-westwards to Abū Salā'a, probably on his way to his refuge in the Sodirī region. The Musabba'āt are said to have been so enraged by their sultan's apparent cowardice, that they turned and fought Rajab under Hāshim's brother, 'Abdallāh Dikso. They were defeated and 'Abdallāh killed. Hāshim continued his retreat back to the security of the Kāja/Katūl region; it was the first of his strategic withdrawals and the end of what was to be the longest period that he held central Kordofan. (40)

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(39) Busaylī, (ed.). Maḥtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 31.

(40) Cadalvèno and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 209.



Internal events in Sinnār rather than any military activity by Hāshim brought an end to the rule of Rajab b. Muhammad in central Kordofan. No sooner had Rajab left Sinnār in 1194/1780 than a revolt broke out under the 'Abdallāb mānjil, al-Amīn. Rajab, still in Kordofan, dispatched his brother Nāsir, to restore order, but although Nāsir was able to contain the revolt and to appoint a new 'Abdallāb mānjil, he could neither capture al-Amīn nor even prevent him from so devastating the trade centre of Arbajī in 1198/1783-4 that it never recovered. (41) The revolt assumed more serious proportions in 1199/1784-5, when Makk 'Adlān II of Sinnār assembled the Awlād Nimr of Shandī, al-Amīn of the 'Abdallāb, and other "legitimists" and imprisoned, enslaved and executed many of the leaders of the Abū Likaylik faction. As a result of this, Rajab and Malik Sa'd were forced to return to Sinnār in the following year, 1786. (42) Once more there was a power vacuum in central Kordofan.

For the second time, and indeed for the last time, Hāshim and the Musabba'āt moved from the Kāja/Katūl region and occupied al-Ubayyid. (43) This time, however, Hāshim was not destined to stay in central Kordofan for very long, since the Keira sultanate of Dār Fūr began to look eastwards.

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(41) Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 31.

(42) Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 32 and Cadalvène and Breuvery, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 210.

(43) Cadalvène and Breuvery, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 210.



In Dār Fūr, by 1200/1785-6, Sultan Muḥammad Tayrāb had good and various reasons for wanting to incorporate Kordofan into his empire. First, he was anxious to consolidate his position in eastern Dār Fūr and round off and secure his successful series of campaigns there. (44) To do this, it would be necessary to eliminate the Musabba'āt base at Kāja/Katūl and, as we shall see, Ḥāshim had given him reason to want this. But there were also good reasons within the politics of Dār Fūr for Tayrāb, old as he was, to go on campaign; tension had been growing between the sultan on the one hand and the Awlād Ahmad Bukr on the other. Thus Tayrāb may have been prompted to invade Kordofan as a convenient method of removing from Dār Fūr the Awlād Ahmad Bukr and so ensure the smooth succession of his son, Ishāq. (45)

But the immediate cause of Tayrāb's invasion was that Ḥāshim, from his Kāja/Katūl base, was causing trouble in Dār Fūr. What Ḥāshim's exact motives were is difficult to determine; he was probably harking back to the old Musabba'āt policy practised by his grandfather and father, of involving themselves in Dār Fūr politics perhaps in the long term hope of re-establishing themselves there. More practically, Ḥāshim was probably anxious to upset Tayrāb's programme of expansion

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(44) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 76-7 and Darfour, 58-9 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 375. Tayrāb's are further discussed in Mr. O'Fahey's doctoral dissertation on the growth of the Keira sultanate, University of London 1971. *Campaigns* *if*

(45) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 86 and Darfour, 68.



in eastern Dār Fūr. Probably from about 1783, Hāshim's followers began to raid into eastern Dār Fūr; they attacked, at this time, the Turūj, a group of Muba slave soldiers settled by Tayrāb in Dār Daju in south-eastern Dār Fūr. They raided the Arab nomads and reached, on one occasion, as far as Tayrāb's fāshir at Rīl itself. (46) Musabba'āt tradition records two battles fought between Hāshim's men and the Fur, in both of which the former were successful. The most famous battle was one fought at Jabal al-Hilla, some twenty miles west of the modern Dār Fūr/Kordofan boundary on the al-Fāshir/al-Nahūd road. (47)

As Hāshim's activities in eastern Dār Fūr grew, so did his wider ambitions and these latter involved him indirectly with groups from the riverain Sudan. He is said, at this time, to have raised a mercenary force of ten thousand men, recruited from the Danaqla, Shāiqīya, Kabābīsh and Rizayqāt and which also included slave troops. (48) The Kabābīsh and Rizayqāt were nomads who undoubtedly hoped to fare better with Hāshim than under the more powerful Keira sultanate. The Danaqla were merchants, but they travelled armed and had

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(46) Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 376 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 450.

(47) 'Awad Hāmid Jabr al-Dār, interview Khartoum North 30.8.1969, gave the tradition that some three or five years after the battle at Jabal al-Hilla, Tayrāb gathered a huge army and marched on Kordofan; an army so huge that when it camped it drank the wells dry. This refers, no doubt, to the invasion of 1200/1785-6, so we may date Hāshim's forays to the period 1780-1785.

(48) Al-Tūnisi, Tashhīdh, 84 and Darfūr, 67.



considerable experience in swordplay, if not in organised warfare. (49) They dominated the commerce of Kordofan, having founded the entrepôt of Bāra, and traded along the routes to Shandī or al-Matanana and to Egypt via their homeland. (50) The Shāīqiya were their overlords and also merchants in their own right; they /i shared an interest in keeping Kordofan under friendly rule. Hāshim must have proved himself a congenial trading partner to have won their allegiance since 1772. (51)

But Hāshim and his allies had overreached themselves and Tayrāb began to prepare to move on Kordofan. After a half-hearted attempt to reach a peaceful settlement, the Keira sultan collected an immense army and set

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(49) In Old Dongola and Dār al-Shāīqiya, a sword was called a "djellabé" and some forty years later, in a similar fashion to Hāshim, the Maqdūm Musallim assembled the Danaqla merchants of Bāra to resist the Turco-Egyptian invasion of Kordofan; Cadalvène and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 260 and 220.

(50) See I Pallme, Travels in Kordofan, (London 1844), 13. The exact date of the foundation of Bāra is unknown, but it already existed in 1200/1785-6 when Tayrāb encamped and later died there.

(51) The prosperity of Khandaq and al-Dabba under Shāīqiya rule, as well as the flourishing market towns of the Shāīqiya homeland contradict the "received tradition" that the Shāīqiya looked upon merchants as mere bearers of potential loot; see M.A. Linant de Bellefonds, Journal d'un Voyage à l'éroé dans les années 1821 et 1822, éd. M. Shinnie, (Khartoum 1958), 30 and 73, and Cadalvène and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 288-99.



out to conquer Kordofan. (52) Hāshim must have realised that he had no serious hope of standing against the Dār Fūr host and made another of his strategic withdrawals, but this time eastwards; the Kāja/Katūl region could no longer serve him as a base.

Instead he went to the Dongola region, probably to the jazīrat Nasrī of the traditional account, described as west of Dār al-Shaīqīya. (53) At that time the Dongola region from where the Nile turns north to the borders of Dār al-Shaīqīya near Kurti, was ruled by the Hannikāb section of the Shaīqīya. (54) It seems probable then that the Shaīqī malik, Sabīl, with whom Hāshim arranged the political marriage

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(52) For the preparations for the campaign and Tayrāb's order of march, see Shuqayr, Ta'rikh al-Sūdān, 449-51. The description suggests that Tayrāb had more in mind than a mere punitive raid. Tayrāb wrote to Hāshim telling him to keep the peace; see al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 86 and Darfour, 69, quoting the letter, or more probably an imaginative reconstruction, in which Tayrāb addresses Hāshim as "cousin", ya ibn 'ammī, see above n.22, p.15.

(53) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211; the traditional account is to be found in MacMichael, Kordofan, 63, note 3; the several traditions in MacMichael relating to Hāshim's career appear in short individual paragraphs. Their sequence cannot be reconciled with what is known of Hāshim's career from other sources; we have thus regarded each paragraph as a discrete and independent tradition, arranging them in an order which conforms to the outline established by documentary sources.

(54) Cailliaud, Voyage, ii, 315-38.



of his daughter, Sharīfiya, belonged to the Hannikāb. (55)  
 The Hannikāb kingdom lay near the terminus of the Kordofan/  
 Dongola caravan route at al-Dabba and would have served Hāshim  
 admirably as a listening post and a base for intrigue.

It is difficult to ascertain the extent of Tayrāb's advance across Kordofan - he may have reached the Nile at Omdurman, he certainly went further than Bāra. (56) //rt  
 But this campaign was far more than a mere raid. Although Hāshim and his supporters did not realise it then or later, it was to lay the foundations for nearly forty years of Keira rule in Kordofan. But the strength of the Keira grip on Kordofan was not to become apparent for some years. Tayrāb was forced by a disgruntled army to retrace his steps homewards and was, moreover, a dying man. The army reached Bāra and there Tayrāb died. (57)

The Dār Fūr army at Bāra, after much confused wrangling, chose 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad Bukr as sultan, whereupon the new sultan hurried back to Dār Fūr to assert his claims there against the Khalīfa Ishāq b. Muhammad Tayrāb, pausing only to leave a governor at al-Ubayyid and to collect recruits by slave raiding in the Nuba mountains. (58)

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(55) MacMichael, Kordofan, 63 note 3.

(56) MacMichael, Kordofan, 14-5.

(57) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 88, and Darfour, 70; Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 451.

(58) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 93-8 and Darfour, 76-85; Nachtigal, Sahra und Sudan, iii, 377-8 and Shuqayr, Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 453.



The civil war and various conspiracies in Dār Fūr, from which 'Abd al-Rahmān emerged victorious, were to keep the new sultan busy for several years. (59) This enable Hāshim to re-enter Kordofan and drive out the governor left behind by the Keira sultan. (60) His supporters appear to have included warriors from the Banī Jarrār and the Shāiqīya. (61)

Hāshim does not appear to have realised how determined 'Abd al-Rahmān was to hold on to Kordofan. Once he had consolidated his position in Dār Fūr, the sultan began to prepare an expedition to deal with Hāshim. An army was sent, probably in 1206/1791-2, under the joint command of

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(59) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 104-9 and Darfour, 98-100 and Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, iii, 380-1.

(60) Cadalvène and Preuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211 and al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128 and Darfour, 120. // is

(61) The presence of the Shāiqīya with Hāshim may be argued from the attempt of the 'Abdallāb mānjil, during Hāshim's absence, to reconquer Old Dongola and Dār al-Shāiqīya in 1790, while the homeland was denuded of warriors. It was treachery within the mānjil's own forces, resulting in his assassination and a civil war, rather than the Shāiqīya warriors, which brought about the 'Abdallāb failure; see Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Sūna, 37-8; MacMichael, History, ii, 372 and A.E.D. Penn, "Traditional stories of the 'Abdullab Tribe", Sudan Notes and Records, XVII/1, 1934, 75-7.



the slave eunuch, Muhammad Kurra and malik, Ibrāhīm b. Rammād. (62) /r  
 Kurra and Ibrāhīm /s. Rammād met and defeated Hāshim at Umm /b.  
 Jinaynāt near Bāra. (63) Although Hāshim was never to admit  
 it until the end of his days, this arrival in Kordofan of Muhammad  
 Kurra, a man of outstanding ability, ended any chances he may  
 have had of establishing his own empire there. Kurra firmly  
 established Keira power in Kordofan and in such a way as to make  
 it acceptable to the trading communities there, so that they, in  
 the days of Turco-Egyptian rule, looked back favourably on the  
 rule of Dār Fūr. (64)

After his defeat by Kurra, Hāshim  
 appears to have returned to Old Dāngola and resumed plotting and /o  
 waiting. (65) He contracted the marriage of a second daughter,

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(62) The chronology of events in Dār Fūr at this time is unclear;  
 a probable reconstruction is, 1787, death of Tarāb; 1787-8, return of 'Abd al-Rahmān to Dār Fūr; 1788-91, civil war and 1791, the  
 foundation of al-Fāshir and the expedition to Kordofan. Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128 and Darfour, 120, mentions only Kurra as commander,  
 but Cadalvène and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211  
 mention both, which seems the more probable in that Ibrāhīm, a  
 leading Fūr notable, may have been sent to keep an eye on Kurra.  
 (63) Al-Tūnisī, Tashhīdh, 128 and Darfour, 120; Cadalvène and  
 Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211 and Nachtigal, Sahara  
 und Sudan, iii, 383.

(64) See the remarks in Pallme, Travels, 11-6 and C. Cuny,  
Journal de Voyage de Siout à El-Obeid, Paris 1858, 177.

(65) Cadalvène and Breuvéy, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211.



Ja'aliya, to the young Hannikāb malik, Zubayr. (66) But Hāshim may have found the Shāiqiyya less anxious to participate in Kordofan adventures following the 'Abdallāb campaign of 1790 and in any case they were not strong enough allies to guarantee success against Kurra. Seeking to broaden his support among the riverain states, Hāshim moved to the Sa'dāb capital, al-Matamma, and "formed alliances with the Shāikīa, Ga'alīn and Danagla, and at last decided to reconquer Kordofan". (67) The Sa'dāb were allies compatible with the Shāiqiyya and from al-Matamma, it may have been easier to interest the Abū Likaylik faction in Sinnār in Hāshim's various schemes.

From 1791 to 1800 at least, Kurra seems to have had general oversight of Kordofan affairs, although he probably spent most of his time in eastern Dār Fūr. Kurra established the Keira provincial capital at Bāra and while northern Kordofan was the general responsibility of Malik Ibrāhīm, Kurra was responsible for the south. (68) The two commanders joined forces to campaign against one group of Hāshim's supporters still in Kordofan, the Banī Jarrār nomads, who were severely mauled. (69)

Despite the activities of Kurra and Ibrāhīm, Hāshim did not give up attempting to subvert Keira rule

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(66) MacMichael, Kordofan, 63.

(67) MacMichael, Kordofan, 63.

(68) Cadavène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211.

(69) Cadavène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211.



in Kordofan, presumably from his new base at al-Matamma. In the summer of 1794, W.G. Browne, an English traveller who was in Dār Fūr from 1793 to 1796, saw five Keira provincial officials executed in al-Fāshir, because they had been in correspondence with Hāshim. (70) The following year, 1795, Hāshim was still pressing Kurra hard; Browne watched a parade of troops in al-Fāshir who were to be sent as reinforcements to Kordofan, where over half the Dār Fūr garrison had died from small-pox. Spoils taken in the fighting against Hāshim were displayed; eighty slaves and a quantity of cattle. (71)

In 1796, Hāshim moved back to Kordofan and Malik Ibrāhīm recalled. (72) He was replaced by another slave

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(70) W.G. Browne, Travels in African Egypt and Syria, (London 1799), 219.

(71) Browne, Travels, 228.

(72) It is possible to follow Keira administrative changes in Kordofan, from Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 211-4; in 1796, Ibrāhīm was recalled and replaced in northern Kordofan by Musallim. In 1799, the wazīr, Muhammad b. 'Alī Dokumi, was sent to Kordofan to investigate and recall both Kurra and Musallim. A little later Musallim returned, accompanied by a Musaba'awī amīr, Tayma, perhaps to draw the Kordofan Musabba'āt loyalties away from Hāshim. About the same time Muhammad b. 'Alī Dokumi became governor of southern Kordofan, in replacement of Kurra, who had cleared his name and still kept the supreme administrative title, Abbo Shaykh Daali, and with it, probably general overlordship of /s Kordofan and eastern Dār Fūr affairs. After 'Abd al-Rahmān's death in 1215/1800-1, the situation remained the same until Kurra's own death in rebellion in Rajab 1219/October-November 1804. With the recall of Muhammad b. 'Alī, Musallim was left in sole charge.



eunuch, Musallim, who was ordered to deal with Hāshim once and for all, chasing him to Egypt if necessary. Once more Hāshim's return was brief; he was driven out by Musallim. (73)

Following his defeat by Musallim, Hāshim once more fled to Old Dongola, this time by way of Shandī. Hāshim's visit to Shandī was certain to arouse suspicions among the Shaīqiya and Sa'dāb, enemies of the Awlād Nimr and it was at this point that they began to regard Hāshim as unreliable, so that within the year, 1211/1796-7, he had to leave Old Dongola. (74) Summoning the defeated Banī Jarrār from Kordofan, Hāshim entered /f the Gezira, or more likely the Jimi'āb country, east of the Nile and a little to the north of Khartoum. (75) Hāshim's flirtation with the Awlād Nimr had won him another "legitimsit" ally in the Awlād al-Amīn of the 'Abdallāb, who rode with him. (76) Opposed by the Jimi'āb, Hāshim swore that he would kill at least a hundred of them and after a fight which left only ninety-nine Jimi'āb corpses on the battle-field, it is said he killed a dog to fulfil his oath. (77)

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(73) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 212.

(74) Duṣaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 39-40 and MacMichael, History, ii, 289 and 415.

(75) Duṣaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 39-40.

(76) Duṣaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 40, and above 24.

(77) MacMichael, Kordofan, 63.



The Abū Likaylik wazīr, Nāsir, may be excused for viewing this as an invasion; he assembled his forces and rode out against Hāshim, confronting him at Sīrū, north of Omdurman. (78) But it proved possible to negotiate a mutually satisfactory agreement; Hāshim and the Awlād al-Amīn returned to Sinnār with Nāsir, while the Panī Jarrār, "went back whence they came <sup>for</sup> Nāsir had honoured them and given them clothes". (79) It was probably at this time that Musallim wrote to 'Abd al-Rahmān complaining that Hāshim had taken refuge in Sinnār, ostensibly a friendly power. (80) /fr

The nature of the agreement between Hāshim and the rulers of Sinnār was soon to be revealed. Hāshim moved south and settled on the right bank of the White Nile, probably in the capacity of a provincial governor for Sinnār. Koenig's informant stated that Hāshim was stealing cattle from the Arabs. (81) In official terminology this was called tax-collecting, and Hāshim could not have done so for any substantial period of time, 1797-1800, without the approval of Sinnār. Equally the area around /alays was the time-honoured staging area /A

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(78) MacMichael, History, ii, 415.

(79) Busaylī (ed.), Makhtūtāt Kātib al-Shūna, 39-40 and MacMichael, History, 373-4.

(80) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 212.

(81) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 213. /2



for campaigns into Kordofan from Sinnār and by establishing Ḥashim in this area the rulers of Sinnār were both blessing his efforts and using him to protect their western borders against a possible incursion by Musallim. More substantial aid they were not able to give.

Ḥashim, settled near Alays and ever anxious to reassert himself in Kordofan, saw what proved an illusory chance when in 1215/1800-1 Sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān died, to be succeeded by his fourteen-year-old son, Muhammad al-Fadl. Ḥashim seems to have thought that the Keira in Kordofan, made uncertain by the situation at home, would let him into Kordofan peacefully, since he sent his youngest son to Musallim at Bāra to ask him to intervene with the new sultan on his behalf, to let him settle in peace in Kordofan. Perhaps Ḥashim was growing old and tired. The real ruler in Dār Fūr at this time was Ḥashim's old opponent, Kurra, but the governors of Kordofan, Musallim and Muhammad b. 'Alī Dokumi, without consulting Dār Fūr, promptly rebuffed Ḥashim's attempt to obtain a guarantee of safety. (82)

Foiled in his peaceful attempt and threatened by Musallim, Ḥashim is said to have made a last desperate

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(82) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, *L'Égypte et la Turquie*, ii, 213; it would of course be more characteristic for Ḥashim to want to get into Kordofan to exploit the situation arising from the accession of a child in Dār Fūr.



appeal to all the supporters of the Musabba'āt cause in Kordofan to join him. Twelve thousand, it is said, did so, but in the final battle in 1801, he and his supporters were routed by Musallim. (83)

Koenig's informant believed that Hāshim was killed in the battle. (84) But Musabba'āt tradition asserts that he escaped to Jabal Minayk and thence to the hilly Hassaniya country of the southern Dayūda. (85) Hāshim and his followers maintained themselves there for several years, but "he was at last so hard pressed by the Sheygya as to be obliged to retire to Shendy, and to put himself under the protection of Nimr, the Mek of that place, by whom he was afterwards killed, having engaged with the Mek's brothers, in a conspiracy against him". (86)

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(83) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 213.

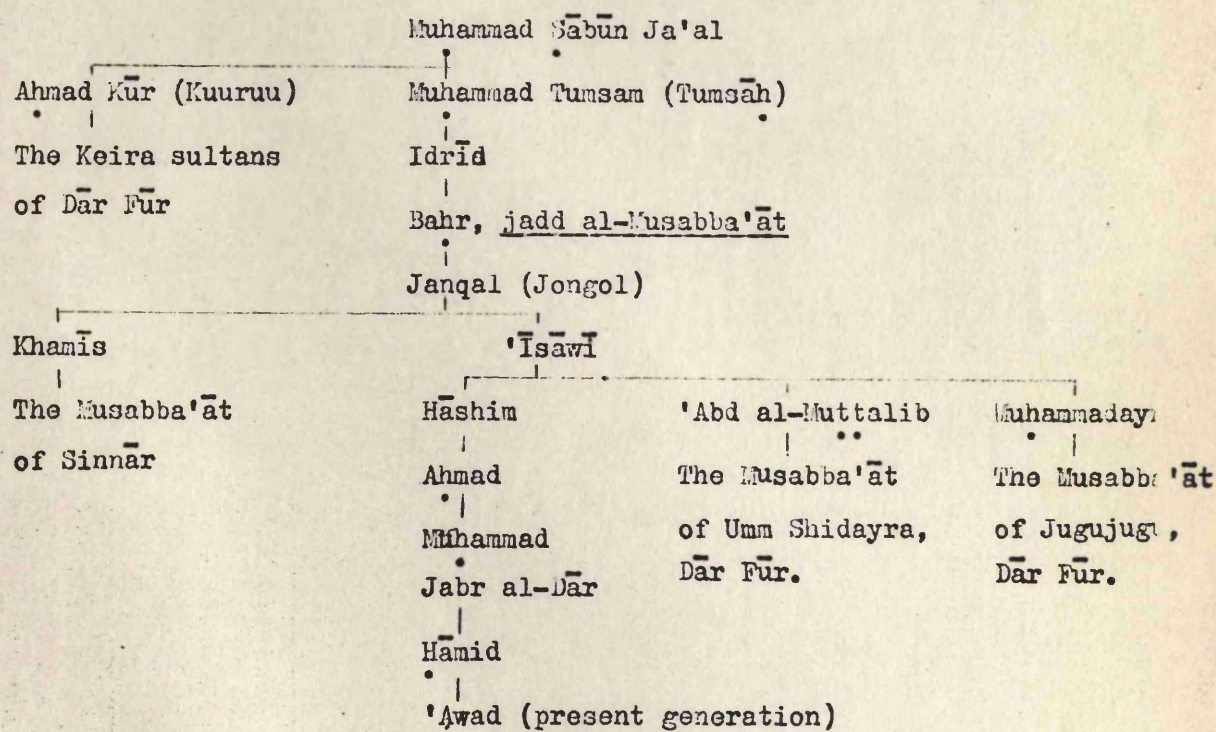
(84) Cadalvène and Breuvéry, L'Égypte et la Turquie, ii, 213.

(85) MacMichael, Kordofan, 14 and 63.

(86) Burckhardt, Travels, 257. Hāshim must have met his death before 1814 when Burckhardt visited Shandī. However Musabba'āt tradition, in MacMichael, Kordofan, 63, asserts that he died in al-Matamma; probably therefore the parties to his last intrigue were the Sa'dāb and their arch-rivals, the Awlād Nimr, and its object, control of Shandī. A contemporary example of good relations between the Keira and the Shaīqiya dominated entrepôt of al-Dabba may be found in a letter from Muhammad al-Fadl to the fakī Muhammad Abū Jibba, describing the sending of rich gifts to the mosque of the Dulayqāb at al-Dabba; the letter is poorly reproduced in Busaylī, Ma'ālim ta'rīkh wādī'l-Nīl, (Cairo 1965), 261.



Table 1: The Musabba'at Sultans of Kordofan.



The above genealogy is based on MacMichael, History, ii, 154-5, from Hamid Jabr al-Dar and from information from Adam al-Zayn Muhammad, interview Khartoum 12.2.1970. On the Musabba'at of Sinnar, see Abu Salim, al-Funj wa'l-ard, 44-5.